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THE INSIDE STORY



Eban fears "strong anti-democratic currents" in Israel.

Abba Eban is losing optimism on Israel

By Walter Ruby

TEL AVIV

In his 1973 book *My Country*, Israel's then foreign minister Abba Eban wrote that one of the most critical questions confronting the country was: "Will the tolerant, humane, empirical theme in Israeli thought triumph over extreme nationalist fervor?" At the time Eban was optimistic that the question would be answered in the affirmative, saying, "The majority of Israel's population understands the need for a [territorial] compromise."

Eban still sees this question as critical, but he is no longer as sanguine as he was a decade ago. In a recent interview with *In These Times*, Eban—the man long considered to be Israel's most effective and eloquent spokesman to the outside world—said he was "no longer able to indulge in the kind of optimistic rhetoric about this country" that he once employed in his speeches and books. "In recent years," he added, "we have seen a loss of balance in Israeli political life—a tragic abandonment of the moderation and lucidity that had characterized the Zionist endeavor almost from its inception."

Eban is especially fearful about what he calls "strong anti-democratic currents that have grown here in the last few years. Jewish groups in the U.S. and elsewhere that invite me to speak often still expect me to describe Israel as a bastion of democracy, but I simply cannot do so as before. I feel that our democracy is being progressively subverted by our open-ended occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. It is simply impossible to have a healthy democracy on this side of the green line [the pre-1967 border] when only a few kilometers away—just across the border—we are holding down more than one million people against their will, denying them their basic human rights."

In the last two years, he added, "we have seen a growing wave of violence and anti-democratic fanaticism beginning with persistent efforts on the part of pro-Likud hooligans to break up Labor Party rallies with rotten eggs and obscenities, and leading to February's grenade attack on a Peace Now demonstration, which took the life of Emil Gruenzweig."

"This violence," he concluded, "is an outgrowth of

the continuing violence on the West Bank involving the Arab population, the army and the Jewish settlers. The occupation of the West Bank and the repression of its people is slowly but surely poisoning Israel's body politic."

Eban believes that the absence of a unifying leadership has helped create the conditions that have allowed extremism to grow unchecked. "It is clear," he said, "that all of these anti-democratic incidents emerge out of an atmosphere of the strident rhetoric of Begin and other Likud spokesmen that has greatly sharpened, rather than blunted, the heat of the rivalry. Begin's rhetoric in the 1981 election and since—in which he has implied that those who oppose his policies are somehow traitors to Israel—has cheapened the political dialog and definitely inflamed many of his followers."

According to Eban, there has always been an anti-democratic strain in Zionist Revisionism that has "expressed itself in a belief in hierarchy and a worship of power." (Zionist Revisionism is the maximalist pre-statehood movement that gave birth to the underground Irgun under the leadership of Menachem Begin. Revisionist thinking is today embodied in Begin's Herut Party, the core of the Likud coalition.)

The root problem, Eban believes, is that "there is a sharper political division on basic issues between Likud and Labor than between the major parties in any other democratic country today. Labor and Likud differ not only on foreign and domestic policy issues, but on the most fundamental points, such as the size and shape of the country itself. The debate over whether or not to retain the West Bank and its one million Arabs has split Israel down the middle, and will undoubtedly continue to torment us for a long time to come. What Begin must make clear to his more vociferous followers is that this is a legitimate national debate, and that those who stand for territorial compromise are not traitors or enemies of Israel."

Like other Labor Party leaders, Eban maintains that Begin should have resigned in the wake of the Kahan Commission report. "The commission stated clearly that the prime minister had to accept a certain responsibility for what occurred in the camps because of his complete apathy and non-involvement in the decision to send the Phalangists into the camps, and in properly overseeing the operation that followed. The conclusion is devastating to the prime minister. It is hard to imagine any other democratic country where the premier could survive in office in the face of such a blow to his credibility as a competent leader."

Eban added, "The Kahan Commission made a great mistake in not using more explicit language" in its recommendations concerning former Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. "Instead of saying directly that Sharon should resign from the cabinet, as was undoubtedly the intent of the commission, they instead sought to soften the blow by saying that Sharon should 'draw conclusions' from the strong condemnation of his behavior in the report. This ambiguity allowed the government to argue that it was fulfilling the intent of the commission by having Sharon resign as defense minister but stay on in the cabinet as minister without portfolio. Since the commission had ceased to exist with the publication of the report, the government was able to get away with this evasion."

Eban believes, however, that even though Sharon has managed to remain in the cabinet, "his position may now be weaker than if he had left the government altogether. As minister without portfolio, Sharon is in a position without content—a minister in search of some-

thing to do. Defense Minister Arens has already shown that he will brook no interference in that area, and few other ministers seem to want Sharon in their balliwicks either."

Eban says he is "undismayed" by Labor's failure to oust the Begin government after the Kahan report, and sees brighter days ahead for his party. Countering those pundits who have predicted continued Likud ascendancy and Labor unpopularity, Eban said, "Although the government has survived, the latest crisis has again shown up the government's extreme vulnerability. Today it has the support of only about one half of Israel's population, and many in the government's own ranks continue to support it only out of a sense of loyalty."

"I believe that Begin's majority, which seemed so secure six months ago, is now rapidly receding and will continue to decline as more and more Likud supporters realize the disastrous effects of the government's social policies and its Lebanon adventure." Recent opinion polls, he added, "show Labor running even with Likud, if our ticket were headed by a certain leader [Yitzhak Navon]. Of course, early polls are notoriously poor indicators of what the results of general elections will be. One should not forget that Labor led by a substantial margin in the polls only three months before the 1981 election, and yet we still managed to lose."

Rumors that Begin may resign and call an election later this year have been rife since the publication of the commission report and surfaced anew in March after the Knesset rebuffed the Likud candidate and elected Laborite Chaim Herzog as president. The conventional wisdom has been that Begin's National Religious Party coalition partners have held Begin back from resigning and calling early elections. But Eban does not agree.

"The last thing Begin wants now is an election, which, given the volatile mood of the electorate, he has no assurance of winning. It is always safer to keep a majority—no matter how slender—than to take a chance on winning an increased majority. I am certain the prime minister would prefer two more years to carry out his West Bank settlement drive than to risk it all in elections now." Thus, barring an unexpected collapse of the government, Eban does not expect elections until the government's term expires in 1985.

He looks to the future of Israel with apprehension: "We have been going through a bleak and depressing period. Under the Begin government, the central Zionist precepts have been discarded and replaced by revisionist ideas that were dismissed for 40 years as eccentric deviations. I confess I never expected that a philosophy that countenances permanent repression of an alien minority and an open espousal of force as the solution to the Israel-Arab conflict would achieve majority support in this country. Certainly, the present policies of the Begin government—especially its determined effort to make irreversible our presence throughout Judea and Samaria—promises only to deepen further our international isolation, and to increase violence and polarization at home."

Nevertheless, unlike others on the liberal-left side of the Israeli political spectrum, Eban refuses to give way to despair. "I see a good deal of evidence that the tide is beginning to turn—that in the wake of the disasters of the last year people are tiring of Likud policies. The Begin government may be around for a bit longer, but I believe that the day is not too far off when the majority of our population will return to the humane Zionist vision that sustained the founders of the State of Israel."

Walter Ruby writes for the Long Island Jewish World.

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CIA's covert activities are in the open

By Jack Epstein and J.H. Evans

"I THINK WE ABSOLUTELY HAVE a moral right to do what we're doing in Nicaragua," presidential counselor Edwin Meese III said recently, although he refused to elaborate on exactly what the Reagan administration is doing. He added that he opposed congressional restrictions because they "interfere with the conduct of foreign policy."

It is questionable whether Congress will take the hint and stay out of the pres-

Their attempt at overthrowing a government this time is barely disguised.

ident's way. Official reluctance to explain the extent of U.S. activities in Central America may instead stir up a potentially rancorous debate about the legalities of such operations.

In the past 20 years the CIA has conducted more than 900 major covert projects, as well as thousands of smaller actions, according to a recent report in the *Los Angeles Times*. The most recent, aimed at Nicaragua, is considered the most ambitious since the overthrow of Chilean President Salvador Allende in 1973.

The 1947 law establishing the CIA did not specifically authorize covert operations. Since World War II, however, every president has used the agency for clandestine activities. The CIA defines covert action as an "operation or activity designed to influence foreign governments, organizations, persons or events in support of U.S. foreign policy." Such an open-ended interpretation has historically given the agency a free hand to do just about anything.

Although by law Congress has the power to monitor the CIA, it has rarely taken the job seriously, preferring instead to leave detailed guidance of the agency to the president. In 1980 Congress reduced the number of committees the president must report to about covert activities from eight to two.

Even the Boland Resolution, authored by Chairman of the House Intelligence Committee Edward P. Boland (D-Mass.)—a diluted version of Rep. Thomas Harkin's (D-Iowa) bill to stop all covert actions against Nicaragua—was worked out with CIA officials. The resulting bill, which passed 411 to 0, allows the Reagan administration to continue its policies by claiming that U.S. aid to counterrevolutionary groups is aimed only at "interdicting" weapons headed for Salvadoran rebels.

Responsibility for U.S. strategy in Central America shifted recently from Assistant Secretary of State for InterAmerican Affairs Thomas Enders and his State Department colleagues to National Security Advisor William Clark and UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. Enders' strategy of economic strangulation and limited covert activity was replaced by an attitude that military victory is the best way to end war in Central America.

According to the *Miami Herald*, CIA officials have told Congress that they have now assumed day-to-day control of counterrevolutionary activities, including pinpointing targets, plotting attacks and conferring with rebel field leaders. Much of the planning is done in the U.S. military southern command headquarters in

Panama. As a result, there has been an escalation of fighting by the Salvadoran army, a plea for congressional approval of additional arms shipments to that nation, increased military and CIA aid to Guatemala and stepped-up assaults by the counterrevolutionaries or *contras* inside Nicaragua.

The latter attacks forced the House Intelligence Committee to convene in mid-April to consider taking action against the executive branch because of obvious U.S. involvement. After the meeting, Boland told reporters that covert operations had gone beyond merely stopping rebel arms and equipment. "It is my judgment," he added, "that there has been an apparent violation of the law."

What's good for the U.S....

"CIA strategy against Nicaragua is the same as it was against Guatemala in 1954 and Cuba in 1961," explained Sandinista junta member Sergio Ramirez recently. "They [the CIA] totally lack imagination."

Based on accounts of the CIA's successful 1954 deposing of left Guatemalan President Jacobo Arbenz and the 1961 Bay of Pigs fiasco, Ramirez's observations show that the Sandinistas have long known what Boland and his committee apparently learned only recently.

In all three operations the CIA trained, supplied and used exiles to do their dirty work. In each case the objective was to wrest power from a legitimate government viewed by the administration as detrimental to U.S. interests. Weapons and training were supplied under cover of neighboring countries, divergent counterrevolutionary groups were encouraged to ban together under a unified command before the actual invasion and all three operations were planned out of Miami.

The CIA has already forged the Honduran-based ex-Somoza national guard groups (*Somocistas*) into the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) and has been luring the Costa Rica-based Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE) led by Eden Pastora (now fighting inside Nicaragua), Alfonso Robelo and Brooklyn Rivera.

Traditionally, the agency provided intelligence, propaganda and psychological warfare. Intelligence support, not always accurate in the past, has been given increased importance recently, especially in light of revelations about AWAC surveillance flights over the air and sea lanes between Nicaragua and Cuba. Planes also photograph airfields, military encampments and troop movements. The U.S. flies the SR-71 spy plane higher than 80,000 feet and faster than 2,000 mph, while satellite and surface ships add to photo and communications capabilities. Five electronically equipped Cessnas patrol the border between Honduras and Nicaragua. There are also sophisticated radar installations along the Honduran and Costa Rican borders with Nicaragua, manned by a dozen U.S. army and air force soldiers who monitor Sandinista movements.

Inside Nicaragua, as in Guatemala and Cuba, nationals are recruited to gather information. Former emergency operations director for the Nicaraguan Red Cross, Rene "Jose" Talavera, has claimed he was recruited in exchange for expensive medical care for his son.

Propaganda is another essential tool of the CIA. Public relations firms are called in to improve the image of the counterrevolutionaries, while administration officials accuse the target country of being a Communist dupe eager to export revolution. (The FDN admits to spending \$2,000 monthly on publicity).

The Reagan administration describes counterrevolutionary attacks as an internal revolt and no mention is made of plans and weapons shipments being or-

ganized from outside the country. Kirkpatrick, for example, denounced recent Sandinista reports of an invasion as an effort to divert international attention away "from the frustration and bitterness of its own people." Internally, clandestine radios spread false and conflicting information and call for uprisings against the government. The FDN broadcasts its 15th of September radio out of Honduras, while ARDE's Voice of Sandino is located in Costa Rica, although both now are reported to be operating inside Nicaragua.

Psychological warfare also plays a significant role in the CIA's Nicaraguan strategy. Until recently Reagan steadfastly refused either to confirm or deny U.S. involvement, while counterrevolutionary groups were openly allowed to train in camps in Florida and California in violation of U.S. neutrality laws. The U.S. has pushed for regional conferences in the past two years without inviting Nicaragua, and has held military maneuvers (with Honduras in February involving 5,200 persons, and naval movements in the Caribbean in March with 36 ships, 300 planes and more than 24,000 persons) that are perceived as a direct threat by Sandinista authorities. The CIA also fosters the impression of having more recruits internally than it actually does, hoping to intimidate government officials into tightening oppressive domestic restrictions, thus creating citizen animosity

March issued a tough executive order that requires every federal employee with a security clearance to sign an agreement of secrecy and to submit to a lie detector test when requested. Those who refuse to take the polygraph would be subject to "adverse consequences."

Despite the leaks placing the date of the initiation of anti-Sandinista activities at November 1981, when Reagan, with the knowledge of Congress, approved \$19.95 million for covert actions, the decision to move against Nicaragua was probably taken shortly after Reagan took office. Judging by his campaign rhetoric, the Sandinistas were seen not only as bad examples, but also as willing proxies for Soviet and Cuban support of all leftist insurgent activity in the region. The destruction of the Nicaraguan revolution was perceived as crucial to the maintenance of U.S. hegemony in Central America.

This was a departure from the Carter-Brezinski strategy of containing the revolution by funneling money to the moderate opposition—independent labor unions, business organizations, opposition political parties, the Catholic Church hierarchy and other religious groups.

Honduras, specifically the U.S. embassy in Tegucigalpa, the capital, was chosen as the headquarters for the operation. The embassy was hurriedly upgraded from a low priority class 4 to class 2, and as many as 50 CIA operatives were sent



Refugees from CIA projects—like this Guatemalan child in a Honduras camp—are common throughout the Third World.

and international disfavor.

While covert actions against Nicaragua have many similarities to past operations, there is one sizable difference—this is the first overt covert project the CIA has attempted. Since the project was launched, there have been an unprecedented number of leaks to the press. Although some were obviously designed as part of the CIA's propaganda war, much of the information has proven highly damaging and embarrassing.

Sensing a schism within the CIA and opposition within the administration to his Central American policies, Reagan in

under official cover to analyze data flowing in from spies. Subsequent press accounts have said that more than 150 agents are now working in Honduras, with dozens more in neighboring countries. This includes between 50 and 60 U.S. military personnel, most of them of Cuban or Puerto Rican descent, who are in charge of daily contact with counterrevolutionary fighters.

To oversee the operation, Reagan appointed a former Saigon political officer, John Negroponte, who like his counterpart in Guatemala 30 years earlier, John Peurifoy, has become the theater commander of the CIA's war.

Negroponte immediately began to work closely with Honduran Army Com-

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INSHORT

Greetings from Camp Seneca

Taking a page from the women of Greenham Common, England, and Comiso, Italy, American women opposed to the arms race are preparing to set up a peace camp July 4 near the Seneca Army Depot outside Varick, N.Y., Daniel Berger reports. Reportedly a storage site for the neutron bomb, the Depot will also host Pershing missiles before they're shipped to Europe later this year. A coalition of disarmament groups, led by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, is coordinating the action, which should draw local townswomen as well as disarmament backers from around the country. They want to focus on women's role in stopping the arms race, but that's not the only reason the camp won't be co-ed. "It would be more of a problem if the camp were mixed," said organizer Donna Cooper. "The media would have a ball with that one."

Affirmative reaction

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights chair Clarence Pendleton holds forth on the "bankruptcy" of affirmative action in the spring issue of *The Journal of Intergroup Relations*, a publication of the National Association of Human Rights Workers. Reciting the conservative cant that won him his federal appointment, the black lawyer argues that only lack of training holds back minority Americans, and today "the doors to preparation and skill development are open. All we have to do is walk across the threshold." Pendleton's peers get to chastise him in the same journal issue, accusing him of ignoring the progress that affirmative action programs have made in widening the work force. Affirmative Action Officer Leon W. Russell accuses Pendleton of transforming the civil rights commission from a "monitor of federal progress in civil rights to a weak political parrot of the current administration's philosophy."

In the same article Pendleton encourages minorities "to call for more budget cuts...[to] induce business to move forward with its much needed capital formation and investment programs." One wonders if Pendleton has pondered what those budget cuts are doing to the skill development programs even he acknowledges minorities need.

Athletic asylum?

Pleas for political asylum from citizens of Communist countries, always a feather in a U.S. administration's cap, are routinely granted, but leftists have a harder time, as the case of Mexican socialist Hector Marroquin makes clear. Marroquin fled Mexico in 1974 accused of involvement in a conspiracy to assassinate a university librarian, a charge he denies, and his pleas for asylum have received the scorn of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Said one INS prosecutor: "Marroquin has admitted from his own mouth that he is a Marxist...the U.S. doesn't grant asylum to those kind of people." Now Marroquin's case—which has gained the support of the United Auto Workers (UAW), United Steelworkers Local 1010, the National Education Association and civil libertarians from U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums to Jules Feiffer—may be headed for the Supreme Court. Attorney Leonard Boudin filed a petition with the high court April 7 asking the justices to review the case and grant Marroquin political asylum. Pointing to the recent Justice Department decision to grant asylum to Hu Na, a young Chinese woman, Boudin noted one significant difference between the two cases—Marroquin is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, and Hu Na is a tennis player.

Line up in Illinois

If all of Illinois' unemployed workers, homeless people, farmers facing foreclosure and poor citizens denied welfare benefits queued up single file, would the line stretch from Chicago to Springfield? The Illinois Public Action Council hopes the state's millions of recession victims will try it. They're sponsoring a Crisis March to Springfield May 10-25 to protest state service cuts and call attention to Illinois' severe economic crisis. Sponsored by unions, religious groups and even the League of Women Voters, the protest harks back to a Depression march to Springfield in the '30s.

Shareholders' support group

In these days of rate hike revolts, cost overruns and consumer utility boards, it's hard to be a utility shareholder. But a group of Pennsylvanians have a way to make it easier—the American Society of Utility Investors (ASUI). Asking "Whatever Happened to Justice?" a brochure distributed by the ASUI invites beleaguered shareholders to unite to support "the free enterprise system, energy abundance and a fair return on your utility investment dollars." Blaming the attacks of the "radical left" for the consumers' movement that has challenged utilities in recent years, the ASUI encourages shareholders to band together to get across their point of view to public utilities commissions around the country. The ASUI, with its right-wing rhetoric, might be dismissed as a fringe group, but in New Jersey, at least, the brochure is being mailed by the Public Service Electric and Gas Company.

—Joan Walsh



Feinstein's April win will probably assure a victory in November.

Feinstein's landslide sets back SF left

SAN FRANCISCO—By crushing the attempted recall of Mayor Diane Feinstein April 26, San Francisco voters may have doused any realistic hope for moving their city leftward in the 1980s. The Democrat won 81 percent of the vote and solid support from every neighborhood in a town known for its ethnic and lifestyle diversity.

Observers of all political persuasions agree that Feinstein—a self-proclaimed "moderate" who received huge contributions from corporations such as Bank of America, Bechtel and Standard Oil of California—will face only token opposition in the November general election.

The 49-year-old mayor cam-

paigned as the victim of a foolish attempt to subvert the electoral process. She had an easy target. The initiator of the recall was the tiny White Panther party, last surviving remnants of an organization founded in the '60s by counterculture ultra-leftists. The White Panthers' sole issue was Feinstein's support for handgun control, hardly a winning issue in this liberal city.

Feinstein and her staff took the recall seriously, however. They applied an innovative tactic which may transform the way local campaigns are conducted in the future. Weeks before election day, 2,000 volunteers funded by a \$550,000 war chest distributed applications for absentee ballots

all over the city. The result was an unprecedented turnout of 50,000 absentees—more than one-third of the total—90 percent of whom voted against recall.

This grass roots effort, Feinstein's first, was designed by Fred Ross Jr., who adapted it from his electoral experience with the United Farmworkers Union. The flood of absentee ballots overwhelmed Feinstein's opponents. As the votes rolled in, pollster Mervin Field predicted the absentee drive will "be used in future elections as a model for increasing voter turnout and particularly by the Democrats in increasing their labor and Hispanic vote."

When they realized the effect a landslide pro-Feinstein vote would have on their future electoral prospects, some gay and tenants' organizations belatedly endorsed the recall, taking pains to publicly separate themselves from the White Panthers. Yet the left-wing Harvey Milk and Stonewall Gay Democratic Clubs, along with tenant-backed Citizens for a New Mayor, could raise only \$5,000 to fight the prevailing judgment that it was unjust to recall a public official for policy differences alone. The fact that every labor union, both political parties and every major elected official—including gay Supervisor and DSA member Harry Britt—opposed the recall made the task an impossible one.

On the night of her triumph, Feinstein hailed her "united mandate" and San Francisco's left viewed the prospect of wielding even less influence at city hall than before. Many fear issues like rent control, the preservation of working-class and low-income neighborhoods, high utility and transit rates and police brutality may be shoved off the political agenda for the rest of the decade. As she prepares to welcome to the city a Democratic National Convention—where her name will be floated for vice president—Feinstein has demonstrated that a left without a strategy is no match for a centrist politician with the right connections.

—Michael Kazin

MCI battles AT&T, unions

NEW YORK—MCI Communications advertises itself as a David battling a Goliath, AT&T. But when it comes to labor relations, some MCI workers say the discount phone company—and not Ma Bell—is the real bully.

Like most young high technology firms, MCI does not take kindly to unions. MCI was a union-free operation until it bought Western Union International (WUI) for \$165 million—in cash—from Xerox last year. As part of the deal, it got 600 WUI workers represented by Local 111 of the Association of Communications Workers.

Since then, according to Local 111 President Dan Kane, things have been downhill for WUI employees. The pension plan for the more than 400 non-union workers was gutted, and several hundred of them were relocated in a suburban industrial park an hour north of New York.

Kane says the attacks on the

pension plan and the transfers foreshadow what the union can expect from MCI. Local 111's contract expires next May and the stage is being set for a strike—the first ever—against WUI.

The union fired its first volley this month with an ad in the *New York Times* listing its grievances against MCI. It announced the formation of the Citizens Committee for Responsible Corporate Behavior, to link workers facing relocation to concern about corporate flight from New York City. Coalition members include former New York City Council president Paul O'Dwyer, New York State Assemblyman and Labor Committee Chair Frank Barbaro and city councilmember Ruth Messinger.

MCI's business, meanwhile, has never been better. For fiscal year 1982 the company reported profits of \$86 million on sales of just over \$500 million. Wall Street has been smitten: MCI's stock has more than doubled in the past year and it was one of the most actively traded companies in 1982. Western Union is a vital operation in its own right. In the year before MCI acquired

it, WUI made \$27 million on sales of \$181 million.

As MCI gears up to do battle with a deregulated American Bell, it appears ready to take an increasingly aggressive posture toward its workers. Kane expects that virtually all Western Union jobs will eventually be moved out of the city, a move that hurts the city and the union.

"It's another way of cutting into the union," the local president says. "They know that 20 percent of the people won't move." Those workers, he said, will be replaced by non-union employees.

In addition to organizing the coalition to fight the flight of business from the city, Local 111 is coordinating activities with the giant Communications Workers of America (CWA)—which represents AT&T workers—for an eventual drive to organize MCI.

While there could be turf battles between the ACW and CWA, Kane insists that he doesn't care which union does the organizing. "We'll help in any way we can. We just want to see them in a union."

—Mark Clifford

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Please include your address and phone number.

Defend labor, internationally

SAN FRANCISCO—Since George Meany and Peter Grace launched the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) in 1962, the organization has been known for a crusading anti-communism that parallels U.S. foreign policy, a line also followed by the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department. But a group of West Coast trade unionists who don't think U.S. policy promotes the labor movement's interests are organizing to get their position across to the rank and file.

At a San Francisco conference last month union members examined the U.S. policies that promote runaway shops and union-busting at home, and repressive anti-union regimes abroad. The conference was a follow-up to a meeting here last December (*In These Times*, Dec. 15, 1982) at which AFL-CIO foreign policy-makers confronted a largely hostile gathering of unionists opposed to their leadership's unquestioning support for U.S. international goals.

Organizers of the April gathering credited their dissent at the December meeting with helping to turn the AFL-CIO leadership against further military aid to El Salvador. "We learned from people privy to discussions in the AFL-CIO Executive Council that their [December] experience was a key factor in turning that position around," said Ginny Muir of the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council.

Yet the AFL-CIO position on El Salvador has not been turned around completely. Now, further military aid is conditional on progress in solving the murders of AIFLD workers and American churchwomen there in 1980. Since in most ways union officials still echo the State Department line on the Salvadoran conflict, depicting it as a struggle be-

tween extremists on the left and right, union members at April's conference argued the leadership hasn't gone far enough.

"There's no suggestion that we open communication with our counterparts in Latin America on a union-to-union basis," Muir said. "They gave no suggestion that we should establish contact with workers who are under the gun by our very own employers, the multinationals. They said nothing about calling on our government to curtail aid to any regime that suppresses trade unionists."

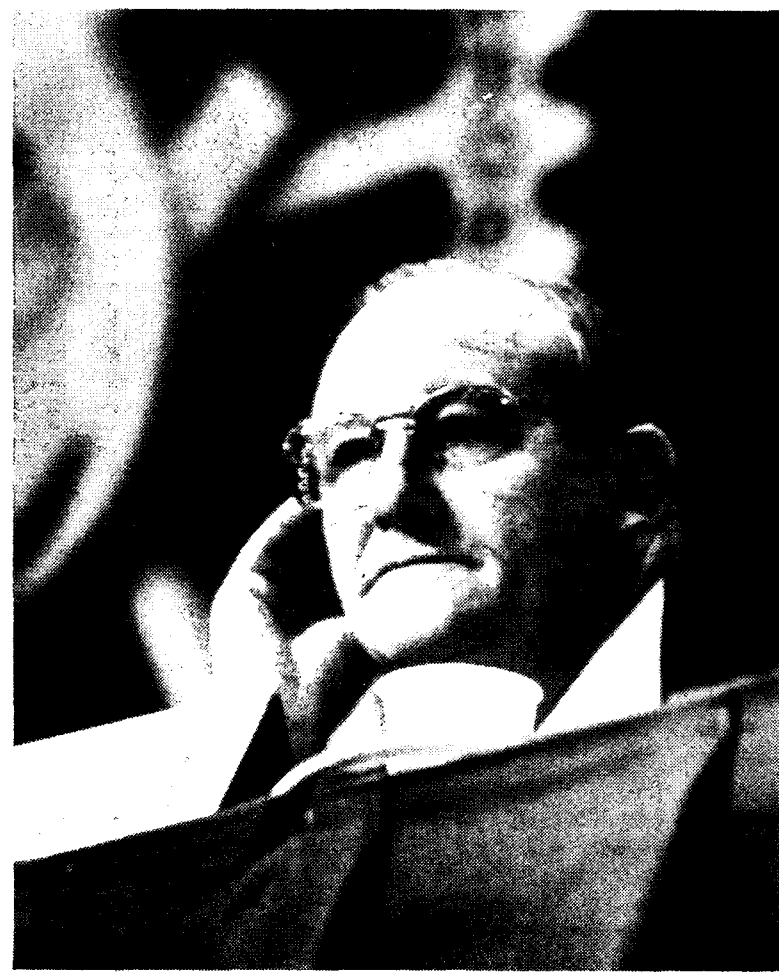
Machinist Union president and keynote speaker William Winpisinger made those connections, however. "As long as countries like El Salvador have governments subservient to corporations like Texas Instruments, I'll be damned if workers should support a foreign policy designed to send their sons to fight in Central America."

At December's meeting, AIFLD Director William Doherty was forced to address oft-repeated allegations about his ties to the CIA, ties he repeatedly denied. The April conference focused on the more easily documented evidence of collaboration between AIFLD, the State Department and multinational corporations in Guatemala, Somoza's Nicaragua and today in El Salvador. Plumbers and Fitters member Fred Hirsch questioned the co-operation. "Would our government, supportive of the multinational corporations to the point of armed intervention, also support effective unionism [in Latin America]? Obviously not."

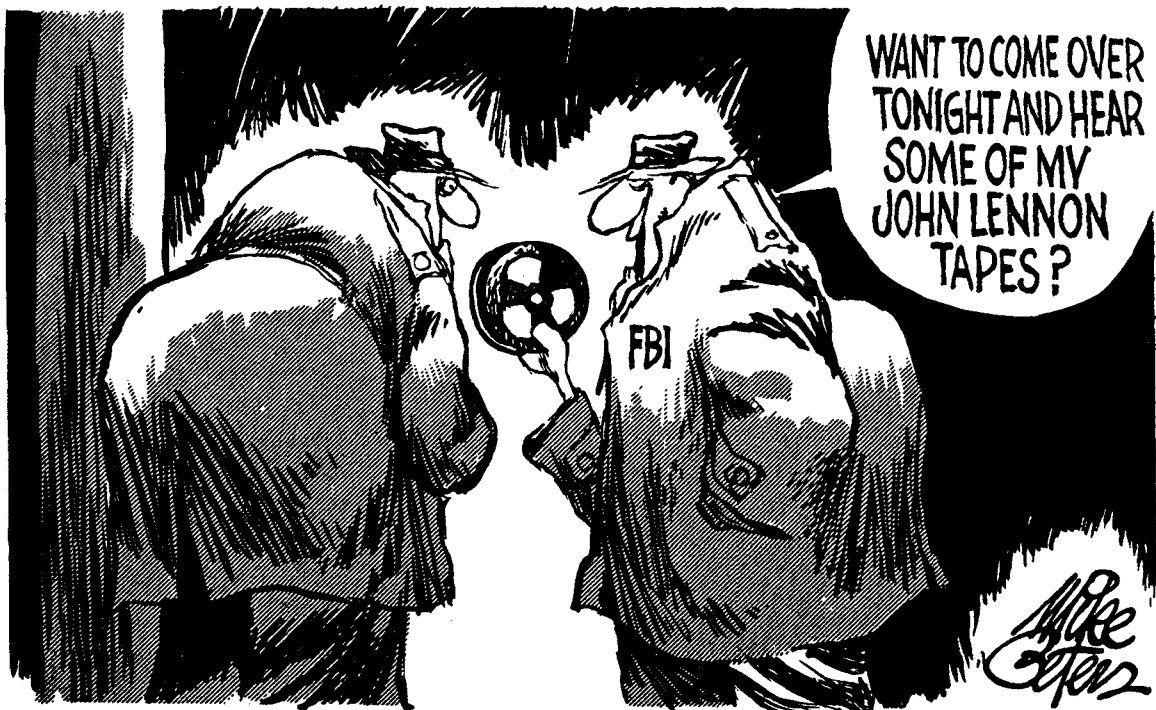
The objections of left-wing trade unionists in California won't likely shake the confidence of the AFL-CIO's top foreign policymakers. But April's meeting showed the dissenters are working on articulating a parallel union foreign policy, one that takes as its basis not Cold War anti-Communism but the interests of unionists, both at home and abroad.

—Paul Rauber

Machinists President William Winpisinger: Should workers send their sons to Central America to defend Texas Instruments?



David Moore



United Feature Syndicate

Briefing: In the challenge to new FBI spy rules, score one round for the First Amendment

CHICAGO—When the Justice Department in early March released new guidelines broadening FBI surveillance of "violence prone" political organizations, the reviews were mixed.

On the right side of the aisle, Sen. Jeremiah Denton (R-Ala.), a proponent of greater FBI discretion in investigating political groups, applauded the new provisions as "a step in the right direction." Civil libertarians attacked the rule change as a license to interfere with legal dissent, serious enough, as Nat Hentoff put it, "to alarm anyone who takes the Bill of Rights personally."

But the opinion of a federal judge in Chicago may be the most important review yet. Judge Susan Getzendammer ruled April 18 that the guidelines violate an FBI court agreement in effect here by permitting investigations based solely on an individual's exercise of First Amendment rights. While Getzendammer's decision may not amount to a legal precedent—the Chicago agreement settled a lawsuit and applies only locally—civil libertarians believe it opens the door to First Amendment challenges to the guidelines nationwide.

The new rules, which are not subject to congressional approval, replace standards Attorney General Edward H. Levi issued in 1976 in the wake of embarrassing disclosures about widespread FBI spying and interference with civil rights and anti-war groups in the '60s and '70s.

Most alarming is a provision that would allow the FBI to initiate investigations based on advocacy of illegal political action or "mere speech," although a Supreme Court decision found advocacy insufficient to warrant criminal prosecution. For example, the FBI now can investigate students groups that advocate nonregistration for the draft; previously there had to be an indication that the group was directly involved in violence or criminal wrongdoing.

The guidelines also allow the FBI to collect information on groups not under active investi-

gation, to monitor inactive groups, to investigate individual members of front or support groups not under current investigation, and to recruit informants and infiltrate organizations before a full investigation is legally warranted.

FBI chief William Webster says the new guidelines bring the bureau into conformance with other criminal investigative standards and protect agents who have been concerned about legal liability in domestic security investigations.

Yet Webster, until the new rules were issued, had praised the Levi guidelines they abolish. Says Congressman Don Edwards (D-Calif.), chair of the House Judiciary subcommittee on civil and constitutional rights: "Webster has consistently stated that the Levi guidelines were working and that only minor modifications were needed. 'The chief had previously told the *New York Times* that the lack of lawsuits charging bureau agents with constitutional violations was evidence of the Levi guidelines' success."

Thus, the new rules appear less a practical reform than an ideological one. They are part of the agenda set by the controversial Heritage Foundation report, drafted by members of Ronald Reagan's transition team, which recommended reviving congressional internal security committees, loyalty oath programs and scrapping the Levi guidelines.

The rules are also part of the political program advocated by Denton and Sen. John East (R-N.C.), whose subcommittee on Security and Terrorism has sought to prove that terrorist activity is rampant. Pointing to incidents like John Hinkley's assassination attempt and the Brinks robbery, East got the FBI to compile a list of terrorist incidents which civil libertarians note included innocuous incidents such as sit-ins and demonstrations.

But, as Denton said last June, he believes "support groups that produce propaganda, disinformation, or 'legal assistance' may be even more dangerous

than those who actually throw the bombs." Judging from the new guidelines, others in Washington agree.

Those who disagree, however, were encouraged by the Getzendammer decision. Based on a 1980 court agreement that settled a decade-long FBI spying lawsuit brought by Chicago political groups and individuals, Getzendammer's ruling held that the new guidelines would violate the settlement's prohibition against federal investigations based on First Amendment activities.

Doug Cassel, one of the attorneys in the Chicago suit, said the ruling's importance is that "in the very first court case challenging the Reagan administration's rollback of constitutional protections, the challenge was successful."

The ACLU's Jerry Berman believes the Chicago suit may lead to new efforts to enjoin the guidelines in ongoing suits against the FBI, such as the National Lawyers Guild's. Berman and others believe the decision will encourage members of Congress to press for modification of the guidelines.

The bureau itself downplays Getzendammer's decision, insisting it is limited to Chicago. But the ruling, and the national reaction to it, makes clear that as the FBI is given new power to conduct political surveillance, it too is being watched more closely.

—Steve Vetzner

FBI chief William Webster defended the old guidelines until the new ones were handed down from on high.



Ricardo Watson

IN THE NATION



Scott Van Orsdol

GREENSBORO MASSACRE

Jury indicts Nazis and Klan in killings

By Alex Charns

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

IT'S A PRETTY SHITTY WAY to do business with an informer," Edward Dawson told *In These Times* on April 24 after he was indicted along with eight Ku Klux Klansmen (KKK) and Nazis for conspiring to disrupt the 1979 Greensboro "Death to the Klan" rally. According to Dawson, when the Greensboro police approached him in October 1979 about informing on Klan activities, he was surprised. "I had been out of the Klan for three years and didn't want to get involved," he said.

But according to the grand jury indictment, two days before the ill-fated rally Dawson put up Klan posters in Greensboro reading, "Notice! to the Traitors, Communists, Race-Mixers and Black Rioters, Traitors Beware, Even now the crosshairs are on the back of your necks, KKK, It's time for old-fashioned American Justice," and showing a silhouette of a man hanging from a tree.

On the morning of Nov. 3, 1979, Dawson called his police contact and warned that Klansmen and Nazis were armed. Later that day he rode in the lead car of the heavily armed Klan-Nazi caravan that drove into the predominantly black neighborhood where anti-Klan marchers were assembling. With no uniformed police in sight, Klansmen and Nazis fought with demonstrators. As TV cameras rolled and a police detective looked on, five

Communist Workers Party (CWP) members were fatally shot and 10 anti-Klan demonstrators were wounded.

Three and a half years later, Dawson, five Ku Klux Klansmen and three American Nazi Party members were indicted by a Winston-Salem grand jury for federal civil rights violations. All nine men were charged with conspiring to intimidate and interfere with a lawful parade, and defendants were also charged with actually injuring or killing five demonstrators. The penalty for conspiracy is up to 10 years in prison while killing persons lawfully engaged in protected civil rights activities carries a maximum penalty of life imprisonment. Five of those indicted were acquitted in 1980 of first-degree murder and felonious rioting when the all-white jury found that they had acted in self-defense.

(Indicted were: Virgil L. Griffin, 38, of Mount Holly, N.C., who was Grand Dragon, or head, of the North Carolina chapter of the Invisible Empire of the KKK; Edward Dawson, 64, of Greensboro, a former member of the United Klans of America and North Carolina Knights of the KKK; Jerry Paul Smith of Maiden, N.C., who held the Klan office of colonel of security guards and was a member of the secret inner circle; David W. Matthews, 27, of Granite Falls, N.C., who held Klan office of knight hawk, the officer in charge of initiation of new recruits; Coleman B. Pridmore, 41, of Lincolnton, N.C., who held the Klan office of inner guard and was head of the Lincolnton unit of the Invisible Empire; Roy C. Ton-

ey, 35, of Gastonia, N.C., a member of the Lincolnton klavern; Roland Wood, 38, of Winston-Salem, leader of the Forsyth County Nazi Party unit; Raeford Caudle, 40, of Winston-Salem, a member of the Forsyth County Nazi unit; and Jack W. Fowler Jr., 31, of Winston-Salem, a member of the Forsyth County unit.)

Due to the polar politics of the groups involved and the allegations of official misconduct, the Greensboro massacre has been embroiled in controversy from the start. The indictments, while welcomed by some, seem to have stoked the fires for others.

"They [the indictments] are obviously not enough," said Dr. Martha Nathan, director of the Greensboro Justice Fund, whose husband, Dr. Michael Nathan, was shot during the November 3 incident and died a day later. "They have not indicted [any member of] the Greensboro police or the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms," she added. She believes that due to political conflicts of interest the Justice Department was not able or willing vigorously to investigate the activities of federal agents in the events leading up to the rally.

After the slayings, members of the Forsyth County Nazi unit disclosed that Bernard Butkovich, an undercover agent for the firearms bureau, attended planning sessions for the Klan-Nazi caravan, although he did not attend the rally. At least one Nazi member has accused Butkovich of provoking violence prior to the rally, but an internal firearms bureau report is said to clear him of wrongdoing.

Fingers have been pointed at Washington, D.C., as well. In September 1982, the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund filed a lawsuit in federal court alleging high-level government involvement in the planning and coverup of the 1979 killings. The suit asks that an independent special prosecutor be appointed to investigate alleged government complicity. The court is expected to rule on this soon.

Lewis Pitts, a lawyer working for the Civil Rights Fund, said that it is "no surprise that government officials were not indicted. You can't expect the Justice Department to investigate or prosecute its bosses or their conduct in blocking evidence from the grand jury that demonstrates government complicity."

As an example of the coverup, Pitts cites the failure of the Justice Department to subpoena a California man who he says warned the Raleigh FBI office prior to the slayings about a North Carolina Nazi group that planned to attack an anti-Klan gathering in the state. CWP leader Nelson Johnson gave this information to Justice Department prosecutors before indictments were issued. The FBI

has denied that it had advance knowledge of any plans to attack demonstrators, but Dawson and a Klan member have also stated that they informed the FBI of the possibility of violence.

Of course, some Greensboro residents are satisfied with the indictments and do not want to see police officers or government agents indicted. In fact, some blame the CWP for forcing the rally and the consequences on an unwilling city, and others believe that the anti-Klan demonstrators should have been indicted.

When asked to comment on the grand jury's work, Octavio R. Manduley, who served as the jury foreman at the 1980 state murder trial, said he believed it was unfair to prosecute only members of the right-wing groups. "The three groups [the Klan, the Nazis and the Communists] are responsible for the massacre," he said. Manduley described the incident as an "O.K. Corral [with] extremists groups shooting each other."

Some members of the Greensboro Police Department agree with Manduley. J.S. Henriksen of the Greensboro Police said he believed many of his fellow officers were as surprised as he "that charges weren't brought against the CWP" for firing pistols at the Klan and Nazis.

While some Greensboro residents freely discussed the perceived shortcomings of the grand jury's work, residents of Morningside Homes, where the shootings took place, were apprehensive. Many people contacted by *In These Times* declined to comment.

Explained Jane McKay, a member of the Morningside Residents Council, "It [November 3] was a frightening thing." McKay, who in 1979 was nearby when the gun shots rang out, was cautious about discussing the indictments. "I am afraid to talk about the Klan," she said. "They may come in here again."

Alex Charns, a North Carolina lawyer, is a stringer for the *New York Times*.

The sequence of Greensboro events

July 8, 1979—Members of the Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO), now the CWP, and local blacks clash with KKK members in China Grove, N.C., where Klansmen planned to recruit members with a showing of the film *Birth of a Nation*. Anti-Klan demonstrators capture and burn two Confederate flags.

Summer 1979—Bernard Butkovich, undercover agent for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, infiltrates a North Carolina Nazi chapter.

October 4, 1979—WVO leaders announce the "Death to the Klan" rally.

October 20, 1979—Edward Dawson attends a Klan rally in Lincolnton, N.C., and recruits Klanspeople to confront "Death to the Klan" demonstrators on November 3.

October 22, 1979—WVO sends an "open letter" to Klan leaders calling them "racist cowards" and "scum" and challenging them to attend the November 3 rally.

November 3, 1979—"Death to the Klan" march is held. Five CWP members are fatally shot and eight other demonstrators are wounded. Fifteen Klansmen and Nazi members are arrested and charged with murder or conspiracy to commit murder.

August 1980—Six Klansmen and Nazis go on trial for murder in North Carolina.

November 17, 1980—Six Klansmen and Nazis are acquitted by the state jury based on a finding of self-defense. Charges are dismissed against the eight other defendants.

March 1982—The Justice Department empanels a special federal grand jury to investigate the shootings.

September 1982—Greensboro Civil Rights Fund files suit in federal court to seek an independent special prosecutor to head up the grand jury probe.

April 21, 1983—Grand jury issues indictments after hearing testimony from approximately 140 witnesses.

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LABOR

Part-time profs win contract

By Rochelle Lefkowitz

NEW YORK

WHERE CAN SOMEONE spend 10 years of her life—and still be considered “just visiting”? At the Community College of Philadelphia (CCP), where Carol Stein has been a “visiting lecturer” since 1973.

Every year for 10 years, Stein had to sign a long termination form along with her contract. At the end of each semester, she says, “they’d take back your keys and ID card and make you clear out your desk—if you had one.”

But that all changed last month when Stein and hundreds of her colleagues practically shut down CCP’s main campus for more than a week. Nearly two-thirds of CCP’s full time faculty joined the visiting lecturers and part-timers on their 13-hour-a-day picket duty, even though they were midway through a five-year contract with a no-strike clause. Their support—and that of the students—meant just 30 percent of classes at CCP were held, mostly at the school’s numerous off-campus community service sites.

The brief strike made labor history. On April 18, at the school that union local officials call “the J.P. Stevens of higher education” (because they say college President Alan T. Bonnell has never bargained over major issues until faced with a strike), the Part-Time Teacher/Visiting Lecturer’s (PT/VL) Bargaining Unit of

faculty member at a typical college “teaches five courses a year and earns an average of \$23,000 plus 20 percent fringe benefits totalling \$27,600 a year.” So colleges splitting that job line into five courses and paying each adjunct \$1,000 a course can save about \$20,000 annually. The rest of the job—research, departmental duties or advising students—often doesn’t get done.

It’s an indisputable fact of academic life in the ’80s that most colleges face a budget crunch. Indeed, it’s hard not to sympathize with Bill Thompson, CCP’s director of public relations, when he blames the uncertainties of “soft money” for his school’s inability to hire more full-time faculty. Or when he cites the school’s “responsibility to be as accessible as possible” to CCP’s predominantly low-income students and its commitment to “...meet their changing needs.”

The result? CCP, says Thompson, is “enrollment driven” and “...often doesn’t know what courses it’s offering until two weeks before the term begins.” Because tuition at CCP is equalized (humanities subsidizes the higher cost per student nursing program) and CCP students are “impulse buyers,” says Thompson, the school must rely on last-minute contracts with a changing pool of part-timers.

Although Thompson insists part-timers are “...always encouraged to apply for full-time openings at the college when they exist,” the number of part-time jobs at CCP has jumped from around 70 to nearly 600 since 1970.

Not all colleges are as solvent as CCP, so conditions for adjuncts are often worse elsewhere. According to the current *Yearbook of Higher Education* of the National Center for Education Statistics, in 1970 there were 369,000 full-time professors (college teachers of instructor rank or higher) and just 104,000 part-timers. By 1980 there were 466,000 full-timers, but the army of part-timers had more than doubled to 212,000. That made nearly one out of every three teaching jobs in higher education a part-time position.

It would be one thing if this “have briefcase, will travel” period were a time-limited apprenticeship—the bottom rung on the academic career ladder. But it appears that in the last decade academia has developed two parallel tracks: tenure and railroad. Many academics who start as part-timers for both the money and experience while completing a dissertation, eventually find themselves branded suspect by potential employers for having been on the edge of too many institutions for too long.

And though administrators insist that adjuncts don’t adversely affect the quality of education at their schools, most adjuncts say their students suffer. As one former adjunct with a one-year full-time appointment asked, “How can you give students the attention they need? After all, you can’t be in Westchester at 4:00 p.m. and back in New York City to teach at 7:00.”

These frustrations force quality people to leave higher learning for higher earnings, creating what one full-time social science instructor called “a lost generation of scholars.”

So why do adjuncts continue teaching? Peter Agree, who once taught history exclusively as an adjunct but is now in his seventh year of a two-thirds appointment at SUNY Purchase, explains, “You become a junkie. You look at your check-book mid-year and realize you still need your \$1,000 fix.”

Yet by age 30 or 35, observes another former adjunct, even if you still want to teach, “it becomes very difficult to still earn \$8,000-\$9,000 a year, come home to a stack of 80 papers and not be angry.”

“The key,” says Alan Sadovnik, a sociologist at SUNY Purchase, “is to

learn who to be angry at.”

While most adjuncts know it’s wrong to blame themselves or their students, that’s hard to avoid—especially since many schools are beleaguered. Higher education, post baby boom, circa the Age of Reagan, is in trouble. Enrollments, research funds and student loan dollars are shrinking even as many states cap higher education allocations. The student body and its demands are changing, too, just as a new generation of scholars comes of age.

What lies ahead? Agree predicts a worst-case scenario: “We’ll be replaced by computers, which will give students more individualized instruction than they get today.”

So, short of extinction by automation, what relief can adjuncts expect? College budget managers—barring alternatives—will likely continue to cut corners by splitting full-time faculty lines as they have for the last decade.

Clearly, not even full-time appointments would solve all adjuncts’ problems. As Sadovnik observes, “Adjuncting is but a part of the larger reality that

faces junior faculty, who have just one or two years of permanence, after which they too often face academia’s revolving door.” And these days, he notes, “even tenure, especially at public institutions, means nothing if there’s a budget crisis.”

Although fiscal crises often pit junior faculty, who feel they’re carrying their load, against senior faculty, who feel they’ve paid their dues, any improvement in campus life—for all faculty and students—depends on faculty relationships. In the past, they’ve been mixed at best. Some full-time faculty deplore adjuncting for the future it offers graduate students. Yet, several adjuncts interviewed by *In These Times* remember a strike in the late ’70s at a New York metropolitan area college, where “the adjuncts went out to support a strike by full-time faculty. When the walkout ended, all those adjuncts were fired and replaced, without a word from the full-timers.”

But, at least in Philadelphia, that attitude is now history. “At the peak of our strike,” notes Stein, “60-70 of the full-timers were on the picket lines.” And Stein expects that support will increase. Because, on Aug. 31, 1985, just as CCP’s fall term is about to begin, both full-time and PT/VL faculty contracts at the Community College of Philadelphia will expire—together.

Rochelle Lefkowitz is a freelance writer in New York and a member of the Organizing Committee for a National Writers Union.

One out of three college teaching jobs is now a part-time position.

American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Local 2026 ratified the state’s first contract with less-than-fulltime faculty. The bargaining unit that approved the contract (with just seven “no” votes) represents 600 junior faculty, or 60 percent of CCP’s teaching staff.

The contract, according to Stein, co-chair of the PT/VL bargaining unit, was a special victory for “adjuncts,” the part-timers of academia. Although they’d hoped for higher pay and stronger job protection, the contract raises part-timers’ pay more than 16 percent per course and commits the college to pay some pension and other benefits while offering unprecedented seniority rights and protections against arbitrary discharge.

This makes CCP one of a handful of colleges in the country that now bargains independently with its part-timers. As college administrators are quick to point out, some adjuncts teach part time by choice—for the extra income or a change of pace. But while they could seek jobs in high tech fields for higher pay, most adjuncts remain unwilling moonlighters in academia. Indeed, hundreds of thousands of would-be professors shuttle between schools for years, grading papers and writing lectures on commuter trains, to gain a foothold in their profession and try to piece together a living wage.

No one, least of all adjuncts, expects academic salaries to rival those of private industry. Even so, by any standard, adjuncts’ wages are extremely low. Before the strike, part-time teachers at CCP earned \$900 per course and were limited to teaching four courses a semester. That’s a top annual wage of \$7,200 for 25 percent of the teaching staff at the college’s main campus and more than 95 percent of the off-campus faculty.

According to a recent study, a full-time



New Teamster chief Jackie Presser (right), shown here with Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan, is a fan of the Reagan administration.

CAT settles; new Teamsters’ boss

By David Moberg

Teamsters

When the Teamsters’ union executive board replaced President Roy Williams, who gave up his post to delay imprisonment on a bribery charge, with Ohio Teamster leader Jackie Presser, the troubled union may have gone from bad to worse.

Presser, 56, is a devoted fan of Ronald Reagan, a confirmed Republican and a leader of the conservative wing of the union. He has also been a supporter of even greater concessions to trucking and other companies than the union has already made, an extension of his business union—or simply business—mentality.

That was exemplified about a year and a half ago when Presser told the local elite

at the Cleveland City Club that their job was buying and selling products, and his job was buying and selling labor. Presser clearly believes that he deserves a fat salary because corporate executives receive similar pay. (His new post will bring him \$225,000 a year, and he will probably continue to receive annually the \$353,000 that he got in 1981 from multiple Teamster offices. Presser serves as secretary-treasurer of Local 507, president of Joint Council 41 and president of the state political action committee.)

Presser inherited his power from his father, William Presser, the longtime Ohio Teamster leader who employed many crime syndicate figures and was convicted of fraud and forced from his position on the Central States Pension Fund board. Bill Presser set up son Jackie with tiny Local 507 in 1966. Picking up members from a wide variety of small

Continued on the following page

Continued from the previous page shops—usually through sweetheart contracts offered to employers as a price for keeping other unions out—Presser built the local to an estimated 10,000 members, although membership is now probably 5,000-6,000. Even now, Presser's local tries to undercut other Teamster locals as well as other unions by approaching employers during organizing drives and offering cut-rate guarantees of "labor peace."

Following the National Master Freight Agreement concessions early last year, Presser proposed taking advantage of a provision for special exemptions in the contract and offered an "Ohio rider" to the agreement that would have lopped another \$1.16 an hour from the pay of all Ohio truckers. Williams blocked the move, but Teamsters in Ohio report that many companies are now paying far below the contract rates, often by exacting "voluntary" contributions from employees to the company.

Even though he has never been indicted or convicted of any crime, Presser's associations do not give hope that mob influence within the union will be diminished. "Jimmy the Weasel" Fratianno, a mobster who is clearly not the most trustworthy witness, said that Presser takes orders from "Blackie" Licavoli, reputed head of organized crime in Cleveland. And Presser is now under investigation by a federal grand jury on charges that he maintained five ghost employees on the

Local 507 payroll, including a president of a local that was persuaded to merge into 507.

For all of his image problems, Presser's claim to fame, ironically, is his contention that the Teamsters need a new public relations campaign.

But Presser is also the Teamster official who probably has the closest ties to the various manifestations of the neo-fascist U.S. Labor Party. He has used them in his attacks on dissidents, especially the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). Presser always refers to TDU leader Pete Camaratta as "Commie-rata." Presser's political aide, Paul Locigno, was loaned to former United Mine Workers President Sam Church's red-baiting campaign against reformer Richard Trumka, and at the last Teamster convention, Presser flew a gang of toughs to Las Vegas. They roamed the convention area attempting to intimidate TDU delegates.

Presser was so unpopular with many top Teamster leaders—and had been specifically ruled out as a successor by Williams—that his quick victory surprised most observers. No one has yet pieced together a convincing explanation of his success, but it is obvious that he has long worked for a position that is an unappealing "hot seat" in the eyes of some potential contenders, especially with the collapse of the Master Freight agreement and the decline of the union from a high point of 2.2 million members to perhaps as few as 1.5 to 1.6 million now. No one

knows what internal deals—let alone the possibility of mob influence—may have played a role. Now, barring conviction or death, Presser could dominate the union for two decades.

"We think it's the worst possible choice they could have made," TDU spokesman Bob Masters said. "He'll make Williams look good."

The Teamsters' loss of strength in its trucking core, its pattern of concessions and the hoodlum image will make it tough for Presser to regain members, especially in "high tech" fields, as he proposes.

The union's decline and Presser's philosophy of unionism and politics may galvanize a revolt among some of the decent local leaders within the Teamsters, Ohio TDU leader Mike Friedman speculates.

Caterpillar

From the time Caterpillar forced its 21,000 workers out on strike last October 1 until March 21 of this year, the giant construction equipment company stuck by its demands for wholesale concessions on both wages and key contract provisions. (See *In These Times*, Feb. 2). Then the company, which had taken advantage of the recession to attack the union, modified some of its positions.

Finally, Caterpillar workers returned to their jobs on April 21 after 205 days on strike, the longest multi-plant strike in the history of the United Auto Workers, with

a contract that few liked but a strong majority saw as preferable to continued hardship on strike.

The union defended most of the contractual language that was under attack, but agreed to give up the long-established 3 percent annual pay raise. Workers retained the old quarterly cost-of-living protection that Caterpillar wanted to replace with reduced annual payments. A profit-sharing plan, with a guarantee of at least 31 cents an hour in the last year of the 37½ month contract, was established.

Instead of receiving two hours' pay or time off for each 40 hours worked, Caterpillar workers will now get one hour's pay bonus for each 40 hours. Other bonuses were also negotiated. In addition, the company will strengthen the supplementary unemployment benefit fund, which has been depleted with 14,200 workers on layoff. And the new contract includes stronger protection against plant shutdowns, subcontracting and similar threats to job security. Workers will go on a master recall list, must be notified three to six months in advance and are eligible for special early pensions. Supervisors also will no longer be able to accumulate union seniority while on management rolls.

At first top union negotiators thought that Caterpillar could not be serious with its demands, but they soon found the company was determined. Local leaders were committed to a renewal of the old contract with no improvements, but the international leadership argued that some concessions would be necessary, although Caterpillar has been very profitable and is expected to recover soon. Toward the end of negotiations, corporate officials hinted that they believed the negotiations reached an "impasse." This would have given them a legal right to bring in strike-breakers—which union leaders knew would lead to bloody conflict.

Local officials overwhelmingly voted against the contract, although some said they did so only to push Caterpillar to settle local disputes. But they put the final decision to the strike-weary workers, who returned to their jobs filled with bitterness about a strike that was neither a satisfying victory nor a major rout.

UAW

On May 15 UAW delegates will converge on Dallas, Texas, for a biannual convention that will salute retiring President Douglas Fraser and several other top officers and issue in the presidency of Owen Bieber and the post-Reuther generation leadership.

Heated discussion is expected when delegates, for the fifth time in the union's history, debate whether to adopt a referendum vote for top officers. Proponents—who appear better organized than in the past—argue that a referendum makes officers more accountable, the union more democratic and the members more involved. The international union leaders are expected to defend the convention vote as a tried-and-true technique that is equally democratic.

But critics will argue that the officers now are not selected even by a convention decision but rather by the union's executive board meeting in secret. For example, they contend, Bieber won the nod this year over Secretary-Treasurer Ray Majerus after Fraser pressured former West Coast Regional Director Jerry Whipple (who later resigned under a cloud of suspicion) and promised support to Director Ralph Koenig (who faced a challenge from a man backed by Majerus). That reportedly produced a tie. Then Fraser, by this account, collected two second-ballot commitments to switch to Bieber.

Critics argue that when many delegates are kept in line by international representatives who dangle hopes for a staff job or other incentives before them, the politics of the union can become closed. With the new generation of officials lacking strong personal mandates and with deep discontent within the union over crises in auto and other industries, the sentiment for direct membership vote will undoubtedly be stronger.

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02TMS3



in public broadcasting, White House officials have dismissed public television and radio as "entertainment for a select few" (ignoring the fact that public TV attracts about 50 percent of the viewing public weekly). Conservative Rep. Thomas Bliley (R-Va.) put it more bluntly last year: public broadcasting is "welfare for the rich," he said in a speech on the House floor. "Nobody cares about it; nobody watches it."

Bliley's remarks were later buried under heaps of criticism from other members of Congress and from his own constituents. After all, public radio was the first medium to bring us live coverage of Congress, public television brought us the Watergate hearings, public broadcasting brought us simulcast operas and concerts. The list could go on. The point is that public broadcasting can afford to take chances because it is not accountable to commercial sponsors. Its mandate is to deliver quality programs, not ratings.

It's been said before, but it bears repeating: an insulated, publicly funded radio system can provide programs that the marketplace cannot support. It is public broadcasting, and so while its importance to public life can be measured by cataloguing its list of fine programming over the years, its broader importance lies simply in the fact that it exists as an institution. Its managers hold public broadcasting in trust, and are directly accountable to the people they serve.

And so, it is not merely an idle question to ask: how did NPR misplace (or miscount) \$6 million—20 percent of its annual operating budget?

Obviously, Ronald Reagan's cuts provide the context. Each year, for the past three years, Reagan has tried to rescind whatever Congress has appropriated to public broadcasting beyond the administration's wishes. Currently he wants to cut funding for the Corporation for Pub-

88	92	100	104	108
54	70	95	108	140

lic Broadcasting (CPB) in 1986 to less than a third of its 1982 level. Even under the protection of a largely sympathetic Congress, the CPB budget has slipped from \$172 million to \$137 million to an expected \$130 million for fiscal 1984. NPR's share of these funds dropped by more than \$2 million this year.

Paul's Radisson Plaza hotel the preceding weekend, was upbeat.

APR is a consortium of five major public radio organizations—WNYC, New York; WGUC, Cincinnati; Minnesota Public Radio; KQED, San Francisco; and KUSC, Los Angeles. The stations banded together last year to "produce quality radio programs and market and distribute these programs with cost-efficiency for the public radio system."

American Public Radio was formed in response to what Kling saw as NPR's inflexible stance on accepting new programs produced by member stations for national distribution. The "golden carrot" in APR's programming garden is Minnesota Public Radio's *Prairie Home Companion*—a highly popular show featuring live music and comedy sketches that purports to be a Midwestern version of Nashville's Grand Ol' Opry set in a mythical Minnesota small town.

When the program was offered to NPR for national distribution, President Mankiewicz turned it down, saying the program was "too rural" to interest a national audience. Ironically, Mankiewicz's refusal became the irritating

But much of the blame must also be shouldered by Mankiewicz for not minding the store. Instead of balancing the books, critics charge, he was out organizing business ventures for NPR that won't show a profit for years to come.

When Reagan announced the budget cuts, Mankiewicz told reporters that public radio "wasn't going to hunker down like a jackrabbit in a hailstorm." Instead, he initiated NPR's "Independence Pro-

gram." The goal was to wean the network off federal funds by 1988 by establishing commercial operations that would make money off of public radio's broadcasting facilities and satellite communications systems—potential money-making services like satellite paging, data transmission, mobile telephones and more.

grain of sand around which grew the APR pearl.

APR's first year of operation has been an extremely successful one. Charging its affiliates a flat annual fee of \$850-\$2,000—depending on the size of the station—plus a per program fee of \$20-\$30 for each broadcast of *Prairie Home Companion*, APR attracted 230 affiliate stations in 1982, more than 90 percent of the public radio stations in the country.

Although there have been accusations that APR is a "producers' cartel" and that APR is hanging on to its affiliates only because they want to continue broadcasting *Prairie Home Companion*, most station managers at the APR conference said they were satisfied with APR's first year of programming, and many noted an increase in their station's revenues after joining APR.

The formation of APR was perceived by some critics as a threat to NPR because they saw the two networks as competing for the same funds. But APR had private funding in place before the NPR crisis, so if anybody is stepping on funding toes, it is NPR, claim APR

"We mean to survive," Mankiewicz told station managers at the Public Radio Conference a year ago. The ventures he put in place probably will pay off five years down the road, but for 1983 and 1984 the prospect is grim.

A large part of the present day budget shortfall can be attributed to NPR management's naive belief that the private sector would step in and fill the gap left by disappearing federal funds. "Mama don't allow no pessimism 'round here," Mankiewicz told the NPR board last year. As a result (NPR's budget is currently undergoing a series of audits and so the following estimates of projected shortfalls are shaky at best):

- NPR was optimistic about the recession, predicting \$6 million would flow in from corporations and foundations—instead of the actual take of \$3.4 million.

- NPR was also optimistic about the prospects for the new 24-hour service launched by the network this year. That service, which includes round-the-clock classical and jazz music, as well as hourly newscasts, was headed for \$800,000 in

Continued on page 10

By Brooke Gladstone

WASHINGTON

IS NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO ON the skids? The loudest sound coming from the noncommercial network these days seems to be a primal scream about its disappearing budget.

In the last two months, NPR has been forced to account for a \$5.8 million shortfall—20 percent of its total fiscal 1983 budget. Unless it can find the money elsewhere, one-fifth of NPR's expenses will have to be lopped off somehow to avoid a whopping deficit. That puts the squeeze on all of NPR's programs, including its groundbreaking news shows, *All Things Considered* and *Morning Edition*.

These programs have already been pared down, while less popular shows have been dropped altogether. At least 35 NPR staffers have been laid off so far, and at least that many more will follow them out the door in the coming weeks. Among them will be NPR President Frank Mankiewicz, who stepped down from daily management of the network on April 19 at the network's Public Radio Conference in Minneapolis.

So who cares? A majority of Americans have never even heard of National Public Radio, and only about eight million out of 86 million households tune in regularly. The Reagan administration understands this very well. In justifying cuts

APR: Rivalry or diversity?

MINNEAPOLIS

In addition to the funding crisis, another topic of worry at National Public Radio's conference in Minneapolis last month was increased competition from the American Public Radio network, which was launched a year ago.

The intensity of competitive feeling between the two networks was made apparent by a statement NPR President Frank Mankiewicz made when APR's Bill Kling—the controversial president of Minnesota Public Radio—spoke at NPR's annual meeting. After Kling was introduced, Mankiewicz leaned over to the microphone and said, "I guess we can all recognize Darth Vader."

In contrast to the dreary mood of the Public Radio Conference, the American Public Radio Conference, held at St.

supporters.

But this public radio schism likely won't be the death knell of National Public Radio. APR supporters see their distribution and marketing consortium as a natural outgrowth of technological and production developments in public broadcasting, and claim they are not out to bury NPR. Instead, they say, their service is "complementary" to the public affairs and news orientation of Washington, D.C.-based NPR. And American Public Radio officials say APR is unwilling and unable to become the only public radio network in the country. (With the exception of two news programs produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Company, APR's programming consists entirely of cultural and musical broadcasting.)

Ultimately, the diversity offered by two networks could strengthen public radio in the U.S. But if the two organizations look at one another as adversaries that must be eliminated, the victims would be the individual public radio stations across the country and their millions of listeners.

—Curtis Wenzel

CIA

Continued from page 3

mander-in-Chief General Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, an Argentine and U.S.-trained officer known for his almost messianic anti-Communist views. Alvarez, who once said on Mexican television that he supported the presence of U.S. troops in Honduras "to defend ourselves from the threat of Russian aggression through Cuba," helped facilitate the training and supplying of the Somocista camps in the Pacific mountains and the Miskito Indian bases along the Atlantic coast.

Negroponte and the CIA worked through Argentine advisers who helped train the counterrevolutionary groups and launder financial support. The arrangement with the Argentines was set up after former CIA Deputy Director General Vernon Walters visited South America in early 1981. Direct CIA involvement expanded after the Falkland Islands conflict when most of the advisers were called home by their military government, upset over U.S. support of England.

The CIA also trained and supplied the Honduran military with specialized intelligence gathering equipment for use in Nicaragua and El Salvador. The Honduran army denies it has directly supported anti-Sandinista insurgents or backed up the Salvadoran army in operations along the border, but it has admitted sharing information on leftist rebel positions.

The Reagan administration is also planning to circumvent an agreement with Congress restricting the number of advisers in El Salvador to 55 by setting up a military base in Honduras for the training of Salvadoran soldiers. According to the *New York Times*, the base would be staffed with about 100 U.S. military personnel and would be functional within six weeks.

In El Salvador, the CIA has almost exclusively focused its efforts on gathering intelligence about insurgent forces. The SR-71 reconnaissance flights, ground-sensing devices, metal detectors and other electronic equipment are being used by CIA operatives to track arms and troop movements. CIA Director William Casey, who made a secret inspection trip to Honduras last May, conceded that the CIA had supplied ultraviolet light sensors and invisible ink to stamp wrists of voters during the March 1982 elections in El Salvador. There have also been reports that the CIA had sent funds to Napoleon Duarte and his Christian Democratic Party to underwrite their campaign in that election.

In Guatemala, a National Security Council document shows that a decision was reached to increase the original \$19.95 million for covert operations to \$22.5 million to expand its program to Guatemala for unspecified projects. These funds are to be obtained from the CIA's reserve for contingencies.

Jesse Garcia, a 32-year-old Green Beret, was part of the expanded plan. When it was discovered in October of last year

that he was training Guatemalan soldiers in counterinsurgency warfare, the Pentagon assured worried legislators that Garcia was an "English language instructor." (Stationing military advisers in Guatemala clearly violates a congressional "understanding.")

While Garcia was training Guatemalan troops, the army was engaged in a rural "pacification" program on orders of General Rios Montt, resulting in the deaths of thousands of Indians. An estimated 80,000 Indians sought refuge in neighboring Mexico.

Due to a long history of human rights abuses in Guatemala under a series of military governments following the 1954 overthrow, the Carter administration finally placed a ban on military aid, but circumvented its own embargo by allowing the Israelis to pick up the slack. Between 1977 and 1981 almost 100 percent of Guatemala's arms were shipped from Israel. Also, Israel assisted in the infamous pacification program by sending several counterinsurgency experts to work with the Guatemalan military. In 1981 Israeli cabinet member Yacou Meridor reportedly told U.S. officials, "Do not compete against us in the Caribbean or in any other country where you can't operate in the open. Give us the opportunity to do this and trust us with sales of ammunition and military hardware. Let Israel act as your agent." Israel is the largest recipient of U.S. military and economic aid, receiving \$22.5 billion between 1974 and 1982—\$2.7 billion in the latter year alone. (See *In These Times*, April 13.)

President Reagan in his April 26 speech before a joint session of Congress on U.S. policy toward Central America asked both houses to approve his requests for increased military and economic aid to the region. In his speech, Reagan avoided mentioning the CIA's activities in Central America—specifically those aimed at destabilizing Nicaragua's Sandinista government. At press time, it was unclear whether Congress would give the president what he was asking for.

Jack Epstein and J.H. Evans are correspondents for *Pacific News Service*.

NPR

Continued from page 9

cost-overruns. Strapped public radio stations couldn't afford even the low subscriber fee.

• NPR was optimistic in expecting prompt action from the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in deregulating FM subcarrier frequencies (part of the radio signal that cannot be heard without special receivers). Hoping to profit from commercial use of those largely unused frequencies, NPR set up a commercial subsidiary and struck deals with commercial partners. But the FCC delayed its approval (it finally came in April), and the commercial subsidiary is consequently expected to drain NPR's cashflow by \$600,000.

• Finally, NPR was optimistic in as-

suming that the new computer accounting system it instituted this year could keep track of the network's money. Five years ago, 97 percent of NPR's budget came from CPB. But this year, it supplies only 47 percent. With money coming in and out from a multiplicity of sources, the computer was supposed to monitor NPR's increasingly complicated finances. Instead, according to a top NPR administrator, "huge inaccuracies" in the computer's software made things worse. One producer seeking information from the computer on his November expenses couldn't get the figures until February.

Actually, it wasn't until that month that NPR found out what a mess it was in.

Two waves of cuts.

In February, NPR management realized that the network was going to fall far short of the \$6.3 million expected to come from corporations and foundations this year. They realized that if spending continued at the present rate, the network would be \$3.4 million in the red by the end of fiscal 1983 in October. So, they slashed \$2.8 million from the budget—a 10 percent cut that felt like 20 percent because it came midway through the fiscal year when many departments had already spent half their budgets.

The Performance Programming division was the most visible casualty, cutting the five-hour arts program, *The Sunday Show*, the weekly *Jazz Alive!*, about a dozen employees and about a quarter of its budget.

The news department was more subtly but still significantly hurt, with sweeping cuts in funds for travel and for the acquisition of independently produced coverage, both foreign and domestic. For devotees of *All Things Considered*, that means fewer live reports from Poland or the Middle East and more Washington talk.

NPR's fund for independent producers lost about a third of its budget, strengthening the demands of producers for a separate fund outside of NPR to support the work of independents. If CBC accedes to the independents' demands, that will mean even less production money for NPR.

By late March, unlucky employees had received their pink slips, only \$700,000 remained of the anticipated deficit and recovery seemed on the way. Suddenly, that \$700,000 swelled to \$3 million and another crisis was at hand.

Here's what happened: A more thorough inspection of the books revealed that certain grants had inadvertently been "spent twice." Top staffers had disagreed over the spending of grants earmarked for certain kinds of coverage. For example, some thought that a grant earmarked for science coverage should be used to offset whatever science coverage was already being provided. Others felt that the funds should be used to provide additional science coverage. That misunderstanding caused some \$500,000 to be counted twice—once as an addition to the general reporting fund, and once again to support extended services.

NPR financial planners had also failed

to count the distribution costs of the new 24-hour music and news programming that had been launched in January. That mistake cost \$300,000.

NPR was planning to close down its brand new commercial subsidiary—marketing services on FM subcarrier frequencies—if necessary. But the FCC decision to deregulate made that short-term saving impractical because it sacrificed long-term gains. That loaded \$600,000 back onto expenses.

Finally, NPR had figured it would earn about \$400,000 in income from interest this year, as it had in previous years. But the network's new services and obligations raided NPR's bank balance—no balance, no interest. In fact, NPR had to pay interest on money it borrowed. And another \$500,000 to the debit side.

Billy Oxley, NPR's vice-president for distribution, told managers at the Public Radio Conference in Minneapolis last month that this second wave of cuts occurred because the network needed time to "make sure all the rocks had been picked up and all the little green things had crawled out from under them." Now, he suggested, everything was under control.

But both managers and NPR staff are skeptical. "No one with any sense can count on keeping a job at NPR," one producer observes. "No one with any sense can believe what people tell him."

Trusted too much.

Mankiewicz's bold initiative misfired, and he took the rap, along with NPR's Executive VP Tom Warnock, who resigned a week later. As *In These Times* went to press, the network was waiting to see if the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which supplied \$11.6 million of NPR's original \$27 million budget, has the will and the wherewithal to bail the network out and preserve program services.

Risk-taking characterized Mankiewicz's nearly six years at NPR—risks that resulted in a doubling of NPR's audience, a tripling of its budget and a quadrupling of its program hours. Not even the current crisis can undo the progress public radio has made in that time. Nevertheless, Mankiewicz guessed wrong and committed a grave error that damaged the institution in the eyes of Congress and the public.

"It happened because we weren't paying close enough attention," he explains. "Everyone asks—how could it happen? It could happen at General Motors, it could happen at Chrysler, it could happen at the federal government—where the deficit is \$250 billion, for god's sake."

"We gambled that we could be the only part of public broadcasting that would not be forced to cut back, to shrink, to dwindle. It turned out we were wrong—we were wrong to trust the private sector so soon."

Mankiewicz tried to play it Reagan's way. The moral of the story is: you can't be a public system without sufficient public funds, and you can't be a capitalist without capital.

Brooke Gladstone is associate editor of *Current*, a non-profit newspaper that covers public television and radio.

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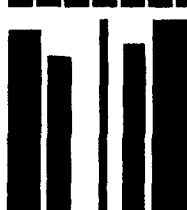
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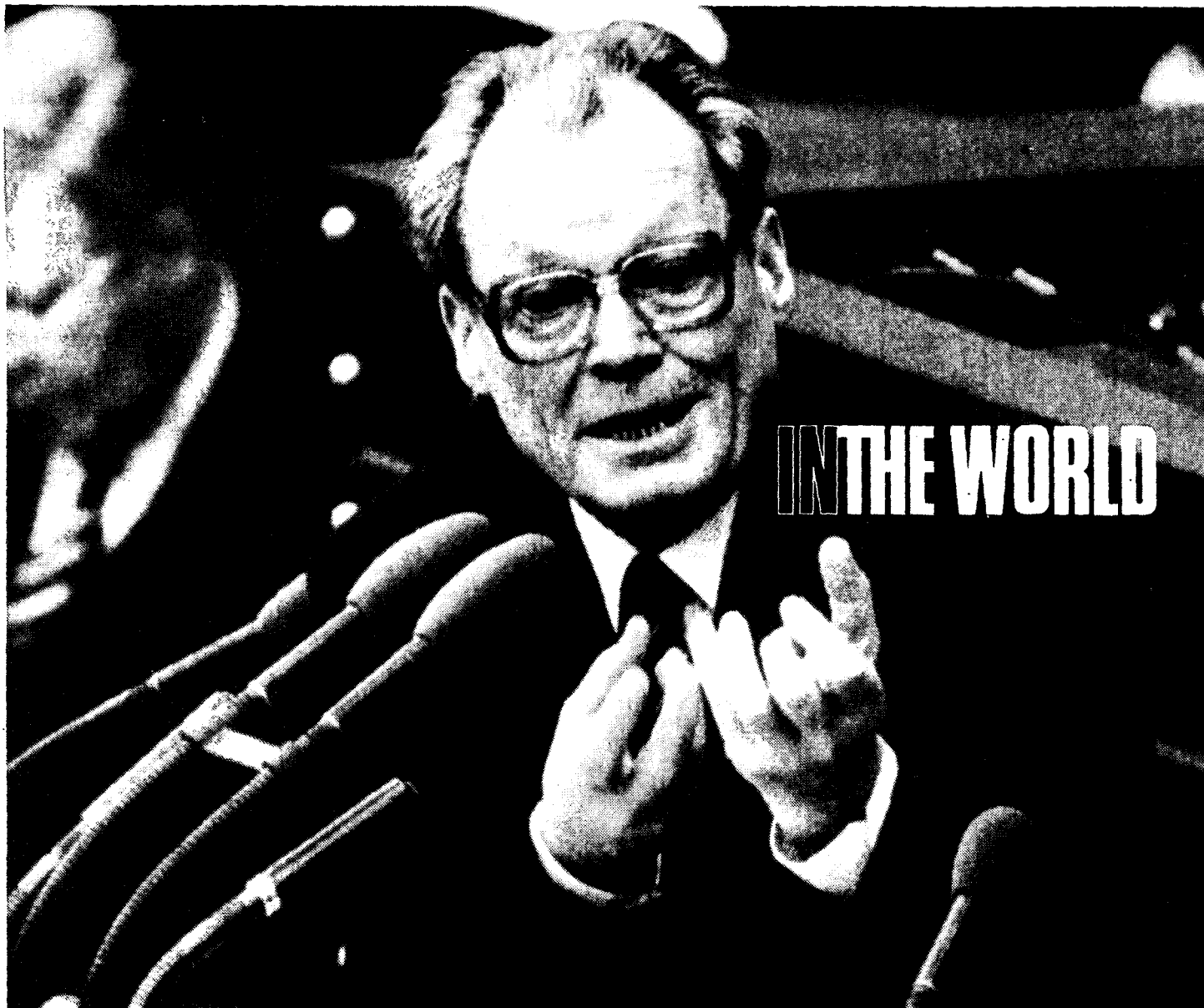
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Willy Brandt urged nations to cut their defense spending by 5 percent and use those funds for economic development.

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

Weapons issues stir debate

By Diana Johnstone

ALBUFEIRA, PORTUGAL

"THE WORLD CERTAINLY does not look any brighter since our last congress in Madrid two and a half years ago,"

said Willy Brandt as he opened the 16th congress of the Socialist International here on April 7. When the congress ended three days later, the world looked darker still. Issan Sartawi, the leading Palestinian peacemaker, had just been murdered in the lobby.

That was the end of the SI's indecisive efforts to contribute to peace in the Middle East—and time was running out on a whole range of converging crises.

Mankind, Brandt warned in his opening speech, is "beginning to hurtle down a dangerous slope." In East-West relations, "there blows an icy wind such as we have not felt for a long time."

Nobody has a single obvious solution to the world economic crisis, he said, and the search for answers is hindered by revival of "a primitive early capitalist economic ideology" that only aggravates problems. The "explosive mix" of dangers includes "a formerly unknown kind of pauperization" through environmental destruction and "further impoverishment caused by the galloping arms race." Brandt warned that "we could arm ourselves to death without ever waging war, simply by strangling our economies and refusing to invest in the future."

Brandt then strongly urged governments to agree to "cut their military spending by 5 percent in a first instance and to earmark the funds released in this way for economic development."

Lionel Jospin of the French party called for "concerted action for worldwide economic recovery." The French were drumming up support for the economic recovery plan President Francois Mitterrand will present at the seven rich countries' summit in Williamsburg, Va., at the end of the month. Others were hoping the June UNCTAD meeting in Bel-

grade might somehow save Third World countries from looming bankruptcy. But nobody was very optimistic about these international solutions since they wholly depend on cooperation from the dominant economic power, the U.S., at a time when the country under Reagan is firmly committed to contrary policies.

The Albufeira Manifesto.

In lieu of any possible concrete action, the SI unanimously approved a 29-page statement of principles, dubbed "the Albufeira Manifesto," that developed what can be fairly called the Brandt line: democratic socialism as the peaceful political response to both North-South and East-West conflicts. The clarity and coherence of the document owes a lot to Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) leader Michael Harrington, who drafted the text in a committee headed by Thorvald Stoltenberg of Norway.

A main theme is that "answers to both the arms race and the economic crisis can, and must, be linked together." The manifesto states that "disarmament could free resources for the development of Third World societies." It endorses a "negotiated, general, verifiable, mutual freeze on nuclear weapons" and the establishment of nuclear weapons-free zones in various parts of the world.

A second main theme is democratic socialism, described as "a will and a way to deal with a military and economic revolution that is in progress," and as "a third force—an alternative to capitalism and one-party state communism."

"In these times of capitalist and Communist upheaval," the manifesto states, "the socialist ideology is the only one that can bring hope to the peoples of the Third World as well as to those of the industrialized nations." The key is democratic economic planning. In the capitalist world, "the question is not whether there will be planning, but who will plan and how. Even a militantly free enterprise government, like the Reagan administration, carefully designs tax and other policies to predetermine 'market' outcomes." Still, "the system continues to blunder into technological and economic

revolutions without considering the consequences or the alternatives." The manifesto then calls for economic democracy: "the economic crisis of the '80s cannot be resolved in elite boardrooms, but must be met by expanding the democratic principle to every level of society and to the world economy itself."

On the other hand, "the people of the Communist countries are paying a terrible price for the errors of undemocratic planning. Where the state directs the economy, the critical issue is: who owns the state? ...Democracy is...not a matter of 'superstructure' but the indispensable means of exercising the economic and social power of the people."

This political vision underlies and justifies detente, seeing both East and West in terms of problems that could be solved—not by the victory of one over the other, but by a process of peaceful convergence toward a similar system of democratic socialism. This vision appears to prevail in the northern European parties and was not directly challenged by anyone. It contrasts with the Cold War view of Communist societies as paralyzed in a "totalitarianism" that, having lost any inner dynamic, can be changed only from outside—by war, for instance.

There were hints of revival of the Cold War outlook in speeches from the emerging group of southern European NATO loyalists in Italy and Portugal. Portuguese host Mario Soares, known as a former German protegee who has been adopted by the Americans, castigated Cuba and the totalitarian perversion of East bloc socialism. But the northern view prevailed. As British Labor Party leader Michael Foot put it, "Our duty is to restore detente." Socialists reject Soviet methods but must not be sucked into another ideology put forth by the U.S. that would betray their ideals, he said.

As usual, since Mitterrand has had access to the doomsday buttons at the Elysee, the French Socialists were obsessively defensive about their *force de frappe*. Amid laments about the growth of "pacifism" and "neutrality," the French delegation fought hard in committee to water down passages dealing with nuclear

disarmament—sometimes backed by the Italians and Portuguese.

French delegate Jacques Huntzinger developed a global version of the "guns don't kill people, people kill people" line. The roots of our insecurity, he said, are in exploitation, blocs, not in armaments. He tried to outflank disarmament advocates of the Third World left. "What does disarmament mean to the people of Central America and Southern Africa?" he asked, adding that France was proud of having sold arms to Nicaragua and would do so again.

The Gallic line of reasoning clashed notably with what the French call the "Anglo-Saxons." Harrington, choosing to speak "not just as the leader of a small growing party but as part of a broad American movement," wanted to "say to our French friends that the freeze movement is not 'pacifist.' We are for a bilateral, verifiable freeze."

Attached to their own small nuclear deterrent force, French Socialists seem to be lagging behind in their realization that nuclear deterrence is not an eternal fixed protection against war, but that, as Kalevi Sorsa said, "the doctrines of deterrence only give legitimacy to the continuation of the arms race." Sorsa, chairman of the SI disarmament committee, pointed to "the shift in great power strategies from defensive to 'offensive deterrence.'"

President Reagan's March 23 "star wars" speech, suggesting an antiballistic missiles protective system for the U.S. that would in effect free the U.S. offensive strike forces from fear of retaliation, has begun to awaken the French to the instability of deterrence. Lionel Jospin spoke of the "stupefying television appearance of President Reagan announcing his administration's intention to challenge the very foundations of deterrence."

The SPD's expert in this field, Egon Bahr, said Reagan was correct in saying that deterrence does not ensure peace because both sides try to go beyond deterrence. "Mutual assured deterrence is mutual vulnerability. The moment when one side would close the window of vulnerability is the moment of greatest danger. This is Reagan's aspiration."

He said he agreed with the French that this was dangerous. The SPD had always opposed efforts to gain superiority, he said, stressing that arms control agreements are the only way to obtain a relative security. This reflects the SPD concept of "security partnership" or, as the Palme report calls it, "common security."

The French vs. the Germans.

Bahr said he doubted that Huntzinger, despite his criticism of "blocs" and superpowers, was seriously trying to dissolve blocs quickly. A basic difference of approach between French and German socialists is that the Germans try to find common ground between the two blocs, to calm them down so to speak (except for Helmut Schmidt's now disputed complaints about the SS-20s that started the whole Euromissile controversy), whereas the French tend to view both with an alarm that may justify the alarm each feels about the other. The effect of French policy has been to reinforce blocs while complaining about them. French leaders seem to suffer from a Munich complex—a notion (shared by some Americans) that since the Munich agreement with Hitler caused World War II, any effort to make peace may cause war. But the Germans cannot see it that way.

In his opening speech, Brandt complained of the "catch phrases put into abundant circulation about a neutralist or pacifist danger.... I am not a neutralist but a conscious European, and perhaps a modest citizen of the world. Under the impact of the Nazi danger, I could not become a pacifist, but this I know: it was not peace policy but a loss of reality and the quest for superiority that led to war."

As to the Euromissiles, Kalevi Sorsa said "something must be done now, immediately, in order to prevent a ser-

Continued on page 22

Thompson talks END

Last December, Yuri Zhukov, president of the official Soviet Peace Committee sent an open letter to some 1,500 leaders of the European peace movement in which he condemned the European Nuclear Disarmament (END) Liaison Committee's plan for a convention in Berlin, May 9 to 15. Complaining that official East European peace committees weren't asked to co-sponsor the convention, Zhukov accused END of "trying hard to neutralize the anti-war movement, disorient people in the movement and push them off the right way." Zhukov charged END leaders with attempting to "split the anti-war movement, which is global by its nature, and to infiltrate 'cold war' elements into it."

Responding for the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and END, Ken Coates pointed out that the Soviet and other official peace committees had been invited to attend the convention, but not to "co-organize" it, because the backers believe "non-alignment is the proper course for our peace movements." Coates made clear that END doesn't hold the two superpowers equally responsible for the arms race. "In fact," Coates wrote, "we disagree with this view." Nonetheless, he continued, "it is our opinion that blame of different kinds does historically attach to each bloc, and we do not wish simply to exchange blocs, but to make a genuine and reciprocal exit from the entire system of bloc divisions in our continent."

The following interview with British historian Edward P. Thompson, a founder and leader of END, takes up this question.

By Alan Wolfe

Is it fair to say that the first period of attack on the European nuclear disarmament movement came from the West, but that now it's increasingly coming from the East, specifically from the Soviet peace committee?

Yes, Soviet ideologists are extraordinarily isolated. They have a siege mentality. When the West European peace movement emerged as a noticeable force in 1980 they welcomed it as potentially pro-Soviet and tended to dismiss our non-aligned position as irrelevant, as being confusion. But it's become apparent to them, particularly in the last 12 months, that this is a clearly held political position, and that elements in the West European and American movements have been trying simultaneously to contest Western weaponry and to open communication between like-minded people in movements in the East.

This is not a hidden policy. The European nuclear disarmament appeal of April 1980, which is one of our charter documents, clearly stated that the movement must not be to the advantage of the West or the East, and that peace workers must act as citizens of Europe, not of either bloc.

But this provokes high sensitivity in the ideological security system of the other side. And now we're engaged in quite a

sharp confrontation. We were originally offered partnership with official Eastern European peace committees. These are quasi-governmental organizations and have functions, just as do similar organizations in the West. For certain kinds of official relations they are convenient, and we don't refuse discourse with them. We have never refused interchange with them. But we do refuse to conduct the discourse of peace on their terms, in their way.

This became heightened by two episodes: One, the problem of unofficial peace movements in the East and the sensitivity of ideological security services over there toward our contacts—such as the contact between the Dutch and West German Lutheran churches, and the East German Swords into Ploughshares and other peace movements in East Germany, our relations in END (European Nuclear Disarmament) with Hungarian peace groups and then the exceptionally complicated and tense situation of those very small independent groups in the Soviet Union, notably the Moscow group for establishing trust between the USSR and the U.S., which is being fought out at this moment.

The other issue was the promotion of all European, or more than all European, conventions or conferences. The West European political forces of various kinds working for peace convened the conference in Brussels last July, which was very successful. But the official peace committees in the East were very resentful that they weren't invited as equal partners. The explanation that the West gave was that attendance with full rights was supposed to be for signatories of our END appeal, which is even-handed in

The search for peace

Beyond the Cold War: A New Approach to the Arms Race and Nuclear Annihilation
By E.P. Thompson
Pantheon, 1982

By Barbara Epstein

In *Beyond the Cold War: A New Approach to the Arms Race and Nuclear Annihilation*, E.P. Thompson brings together his "recent interventions for the peace movement." The collection includes short topical pieces on issues such as the Falklands crisis and President Reagan's zero option proposal, as well as sev-

eral longer pieces in which Thompson explores the current sources of the arms race and of Cold War politics and outlines his view of the tasks of the peace movement.

Thompson combines an elegant style with political passion, and deals with important questions, not merely of peace movement strategy, but also of the future of political and social life. His essays include the weakening of Europe by its division into two camps under the sway of Cold War antagonisms; the role that a healed and independent Europe could play in leading out of the Cold War; the importance of an internationalism of people and movements, rather than heads of states.

Thompson points out that the Cold War division of Europe has coincided with a separation of the causes of peace and freedom. During the struggle against fascism, he writes, these causes were bound together. But in the years after

criticism of both blocs, and which they refused to endorse. Moving on to the projected convention in Berlin in the middle of May, they became increasingly restive and said they thought Berlin was a provocative place to chose.

I think actually they have a bit of a case there, because there's no way that the German question, a very sensitive question, won't have a high profile, or should be repressed, in West Berlin. But they resented this and wanted equal participation rights.

Now this is complicated because on paper the Warsaw powers would like NATO and the Warsaw pact to be disbanded, and they have some more short-range proposals which, on paper, are O.K. We would support some of them. We would support a nuclear free Europe, and a mutual security pact between NATO and the Warsaw treaty organizations, which is rather much of a paper treaty that one wouldn't sweat a lot to create.

But at the same time the real concessions that we are asking for are more political and ideological than terms of treaties. They cannot adjust to situations in which autonomous movements, with all their untidiness and all their plurality,

World War II, the U.S. claimed the cause of freedom, the USSR that of peace, and European nations and movements were forced to choose sides. Thompson points out that there is a large element of hypocrisy in these claims: the U.S. does not hesitate to support oppressive regimes when it sees that to be in its interest, and the USSR has not held back from participation in the arms race. Nevertheless, he writes, dissent has a better chance in the U.S. than in the USSR while the U.S. has consistently taken the lead in the arms race.

The grain of truth in the superpowers' claims make it difficult to rejoin movements for peace and for democracy, Thompson writes. Dissenting movements in the East are suspected of sympathy for the U.S., while Western peace movements are charged with allegiance to, or domination by, the Soviet Union.

Thompson argues that the two halves of Europe, and the causes of peace and



Vladislav Liss, was arrested and is still, as far as I know, under arrest. And it seems to us very sensitive that Western peace movements should go to Prague under those circumstances.

Is there a constituency that you speak to in Eastern Europe?

Oh yes. Oh yes, there's an observable constituency, and there is one that we predict is there. Now the constituency is not usually the self-styled dissidents, who in some cases are entrapped into playing back the Cold War game—into supporting Western armaments as the only way to hold Soviet totalitarianism back. This is a particularly strong mood in Poland. Our connection with Polish Solidarity has always been very weak. There never was good recognition, and that was partly the fault of the Western peace movement.

The evident constituency in Eastern Europe now is particularly young people, the second successive generation, who very much, on a level of symbol and style and discourse, wish to be in discourse with the younger generation in the West, and specifically with the Western peace movement. So the emphasis is less on weaponry than on breaking down the ideological cold war.

Second, there are what you could describe as individual voices, or people who have been associated with dissidents or dissent, or taken independent positions. There is a great debate going on inside Eastern Europe itself. It's a much more pluralist society than one would think. That doesn't really surface in published books. For example, when I was in Budapest in September, I gave a lecture, but I couldn't give it in a public place. I wasn't allowed to give a public lecture under the auspices of the independent peace group, so I was invited by the Hungarian novelist and sociologist George Conrad to give it at his own apartment. And some 120 young people came.

by two rival entrepreneurs, upon the road in 1946 or 1947. The show has grown bigger and bigger; the entrepreneurs have lost control of it, as it has thrown up its own managers, administrators, producers and a huge supporting cast; these have a direct interest in its continuance, in its enlargement. Whatever happens, the show must go on." Thompson recognizes that the U.S. and the USSR have not played the same parts in fomenting the Cold War, but he stresses "the reciprocal and inter-active character of the process." There must be two adversaries and each move by one must be matched by the other. This inner dynamic of the Cold War "determines that its military and security establishments are self-reproducing."

While a "third way" politics is indispensable for the peace movement, framing such politics in an insistence upon U.S.-Soviet equivalence or reciprocity

Continued on page 22

There is also a third constituency we think is there. It is less a dissident constituency than frustrated modernizing or democratizing sections of professionals and administrators of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In certain East European countries there are reform elements in the Communist Party. There are many reformers in the East German Communist Party who would in certain circumstances be very happy to move farther away from the Soviet Union and into more discourse.

You've said that it's about time that World War II came to an end.

In the American establishment people are fixed by a traumatic historical memory of what Communism's about, and simply are not registering the fact that, unpleasant as many manifestations are to American sensibilities, the situation in the East is dramatically changed. I mean, yes, Walesa is above ground, yes there are thousands of Solidarity members imprisoned, but normally under some form of law. In the very nasty case of Czechoslovakia, some norms or forms of law are operative. The number of political prisoners in the Soviet Union doesn't compare with what it was in Stalin's last years. There's no comparison at all. This is not to apologize for the situation, but it's to say that we are in a situation where openings and spaces have begun to emerge on the other side.

Now, by going beyond the Cold War I'm not suggesting a one-sided reversal of the Yalta agreement with the expulsion of Soviet forces from Eastern Europe. This will not happen, whether it's desirable or not. The Cold War cannot end with a victory of one side over the other—short of terminal war. So what we're thinking of instead is a final settlement of World War II. That will involve a settlement in Central Europe, which is the tensest point. A de-nuclearized Central Europe is the goal, but also with deep cuts in conventional forces on both sides.

This leads to the linking of a nuclear-free Europe with the withdrawal of conventional forces, which is something much more in the consciousness of East Europeans. They aren't so aware of the nuclear threat, partly because they don't know much about it. But they are conscious of Soviet tanks in Czechoslovakia and in Hungary. Talk about withdrawal or deep cuts in conventional forces on both sides is going to be popular in East Europe, but will appear threatening to Soviet leaders, and maybe to the Soviet public.

My perspective is for the withdrawal of U.S. forces and bases from Western Europe, and Soviet forces and bases from Eastern Europe by the year 2000, or maybe even sooner. This would be, as is often pointed out, a process that might be destabilizing and create risks. The only answer to this is that the peace movement has to monitor this process and try to hold back either side from taking advantage of the process.

Alan Wolfe is a member of the editorial board of *The Nation*.

are genuinely important in the U.S. and Western Europe, while they are acting as government offices. They cannot understand this kind of relationship. They suspect some conspiracy where there are sharp political disagreements. They are not prepared to meet in open confrontation where these differences are debated.

So they now summon their great peace assembly peoples in Prague in June, which in our view is even more an unfortunate meeting place—very much more unfortunate meeting place—than West Berlin. And to our minds more provocative, because since 1968 the Czech people

freedom, must be rejoined. Popular movements in Eastern and Western Europe must come to regard one another as allies in the struggle to free Europe (and the world) from domination by the superpowers. The most salient theme in Thompson's essays is his determination to strengthen the independent role of the peace movement, its transcendence of Cold War divisions, its postulation of a new politics and culture.

Thompson argues that U.S. and Soviet control of Western and Eastern Europe are breaking down or at least showing cracks. The U.S. can no longer do what it likes in Europe, at least not without substantial opposition, and Poland suggests the potential for opposition to Soviet control in Eastern Europe.

Thompson's insistence upon the search for a "third way" gives him a vantage point from which he can criticize the Soviet Union without allying himself with the U.S., and from which he can visualize the

are in a sense occupied people and the Charter of 77, the civil rights organization, in the last 18 months has addressed some extremely positive and constructive lessons to the Western peace movement and to the GDR movement. The tenor of the Charter of 77's letters has been: they can recognize the Western peace movement as a fraternal movement provided that the Western peace movements also endorse the Helsinki agreement and Final Act on Human Rights, which we were very happy to do.

Now in January one of the three authorized Charter of 77 spokespersons,

impact of European liberation from U.S. and Soviet control. Much of the vitality of the European peace movement is due to its insistence upon independence from the superpowers; this stance has made room in the peace movement for those whose politics rest on anti-authoritarianism. The European peace movements especially have attracted feminists, environmentalists, young people. The politics of the peace movement have been infused with feminist and environmentalist perspectives. Thompson's writings have played a major role in this fusion of practical politics with a vision of a more humane and democratic world.

Thompson ties his advocacy of a "third way," of an autonomous stance for the peace movement, to a view of the U.S. and the USSR as fundamentally equivalent, reciprocal partners in a Cold War that has acquired independent momentum. "The Cold War," he writes, "may be seen as a show which was put,

EDITORIAL

Accuracy in Media aims to stifle ITT and a free press

This week's editorial is a personal response by John Judis to a Special Supplement published by the national conservative weekly, *Human Events*. The supplement was published to coincide with the 20th anniversary celebration of the Institute for Policy Studies, April 5, in Washington.

Are there certain ethical principles that should govern political debate between the left and the right, or is the only relevant principle that enunciated by libel laws? I posed this thorny question to myself as I suffered through the conservative newsweekly *Human Events*' special eight-page supplement, "The IPS and the Media: Unholy Alliance," which Associate Editor Cliff Kincaid produced on the occasion of Institute for Policy Studies' (IPS) 20th anniversary celebration April 5.

Kincaid purports to uncover a secret media network, stretching from *The Guardian* on the left to Ben Bradlee and the *Washington Post* on the right, with the ubiquitous and stealthy IPS at the center. Both *In These Times* and I figure in Kincaid's designs: *In These Times* as the primary evidence of IPS' underlying "political line" and I as the link between IPS, *In These Times* and *The Progressive*.

Kincaid also boasts of his own role in subverting these subversives. It was he, Kincaid tells us, who as a representative of the right-wing Accuracy in Media (AIM) harassed Barbara Brotman, a writer at the *Chicago Tribune*, because she wrote a story for *In These Times*.

Kincaid's analysis is a perfect example of what Richard Hofstadter called the "paranoid style" in American politics. It imputes conspiracy to casual associations and exaggerates the importance and influence of the person or institution under surveillance. As a result, IPS, which has never played an important role in any Democratic administration, emerges as a principal role player in American politics, rather than the respectable bit player it is. And its manifest and diverse political intentions become the stuff of treason and treachery.

There are three essential ingredients to the Kincaid paranoia: masthead sociology, grammatical slander and factual distortions. Masthead sociology is a technique perfected by Gary Allen of the John Birch Society in *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*. One surveys an institution—IPS, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission—and assigns equal weight to the organization's objectives and its founding members and director, on one hand, and to a one-time participant or visitor, on the other. Thus, the first two pieces of evidence Kincaid cites for defining IPS' "political line" are *In These Times*, which was owned legally by IPS but published independently from 1979 to 1982, and Michael Parenti, a visiting fellow at IPS. The voluminous writings of IPS founders Richard Barnett and Marcus Raskin, readily available at Kincaid's local library, are ignored, though they are certainly more truly representative of IPS.

Once thus defined, the alleged IPS "political line" can be imputed to any in-

dividual walking into IPS' Dupont Circle headquarters. One must assume the worst when Kincaid informs us that *Washington Post* Foreign Editor Karen DeYoung taught a course at IPS' Washington School and that Executive Editor Ben Bradlee was a guest lecturer. Does DeYoung share Parenti's alleged sympathy for the Communist Workers Party and is Bradlee, like the editors of *In These Times*, a socialist?

As is the case with the paranoid style, the conclusion that Parenti, *In These Times*, De Young and Bradlee are part of an "unholy alliance" is implied, but not drawn. It matters little that Bradlee has as much in common politically with Parenti as Sen. Lowell Weicker does with Kincaid.

The second ingredient of Kincaid's technique is blatant distortion of IPS' purposes, achieved through statements that contain a germ of truth but no more, and through the misleading use of grammar. Two examples: citing an article on IPS by Joshua Muravchik in the *New York Times*, Kincaid states:

"What seemed to intrigue Muravchik and the *New York Times* executives who commissioned the article was the mounting evidence that IPS is aligned with those forces, at home and abroad, who are trying to impose a 'Socialist' or Marxist system on the United States and other countries."

Muravchik, of course, never makes such a statement in his article, but there is a shred of truth in the statement imputed to him. It is true that some IPS fellows have defended Cuba's role in aiding liberation movements in Latin America and Africa. So did former UN Ambassador Andrew Young. But the statement imputed to Muravchik conjures up an image of IPS as part of a '20s-style Communist International.

There is, of course, no evidence—and Kincaid cites none—that IPS is aligned with any country other than the U.S., or that any country is seeking to impose a version of "Socialism" on the U.S. Indeed, I know of no such country. Kincaid may not be aware of this, but not even the Soviet Union has shown interest since the early '30s in imposing socialism on the U.S. Its primary interest appears to be winning support for its foreign policy objectives.

Now, a second example of Kincaid's pernicious distortion—this one closer to home. Referring to IPS' having provided CIA defector Phillip Agee with a temporary residence at its Amsterdam headquarters, Kincaid writes:

"Apparently finding nothing wrong with helping Agee out of such difficulties, a number of publications...have criticized those who have dared to expose the IPS, or those who have suggested that the IPS be investigated."

And four publications down, Kincaid cites my article in *The Progressive* (July 1981) criticizing Muravchik's article in the *New York Times*. It matters little that I have never taken a position one way or the other on Agee or his domicile, and that the basis for my criticism of Muravchik was his persistent misrepresentation of IPS. But Kincaid implies that whoever criticizes those who criticize IPS must

share all its positions. I don't, nor, I suspect, do the others that Kincaid cites.

The third ingredient in Kincaid's approach is journalistic sloth bordering on outright misstatement. Kincaid ponders what IPS' "political line" is. It might be said here, briefly, for the purpose of enlightening Kincaid, that IPS doesn't have a "political line" from which one could predict the position of any one of its fellows. Among its resident fellows it has a vague consensus centered in opposition to American intervention abroad and some form of democratic socialism at home. But Kincaid wants more than this. So he cites *In These Times*.

Kincaid notes that *In These Times* is no longer a project of IPS, and that when it was the IPS annual report claimed that it was an "independent project." But he is determined to find out what this means. Kincaid implies that the "official" link merely hid a deeper connection: "Apparently, the official IPS connection, though acknowledged in the annual report, became too controversial."

Kincaid never interviewed anyone from *In These Times* on this subject. If he had, he would have found out something like this: Indeed, there are general political similarities between IPS fellows and *In These Times*' editors, just as there are similarities between *In These Times*' editors and the leadership of Michael Har-

Frantically looking for conspiracies, Human Events finds IPS fronts.



ington's Democratic Socialists of America. (Most people on the left see the similarities with the latter as much greater.) But even when *In These Times* was legally published by IPS, there was no coordination of editorial policy with IPS. Indeed, there was not even any consultation. I can't recall any IPS fellow ever attending an *In These Times* editorial meeting. And I remember discovering to my consternation that some IPS fellows were as difficult to get on the phone as high officials in the Carter administration. IPS co-founder Marcus Raskin made a point of telling me that he never read *In These Times* so as to remove the slightest temptation to interfere editorially.

IPS decided to cast off *In These Times* because there was so little relation between the operation in Chicago and IPS in Washington. There remain some ties of political association between the two operations, probably similar to those between, say, *Human Events* and the Hoover Institution in Palo Alto, Calif., but certainly nothing on which to base the claim of an alliance or from which to infer a "political line" for IPS.

There is a final matter to take up, and that is *Human Events*' and Kincaid's role through AIM in intimidating and harassing our authors. Being a silly sentimentalist, I've always believed that there should

exist a code of honor among journalists and political publications. With the possible exception of relations with various crackpots, totalitarians, racists and anti-Semites on the left and right, I believe journalists and editors should treat each other with respect and consideration, regardless of their politics, and I've always been grateful when journalists and editors on the right, including those at *Human Events*, have accorded me respect and consideration. This respect is based upon an assumption that in our society we all have a right to exist and that our existence as political journals is mutually reinforcing.

AIM's commando raids against *In These Times* are dishonorable. Of course, they didn't drive us out of business, but to the degree we depend as a newsweekly on the willingness of working journalists to write for us, they made life more difficult. (These journalists may not share the specific politics of *In These Times*, but welcome the opportunity to write at length and analytically about issues that concern them.)

Kincaid cites the cases of Brotman at the *Chicago Tribune* and John Dinges at the *Washington Post*. In Dinges' case, AIM's sally was not limited, as Kincaid suggests, to informing him that his articles were appearing in a socialist (!) newspaper, but included complaints to his employer that his articles were appearing in *In These Times*. Indeed, AIM's Reed Irvine contacted the *Post*'s Bradlee to protest the appearance of part-time editor Dinges in *In These Times*. The result of this campaign by AIM was not to change the *Tribune*'s or the *Post*'s coverage one iota, but was to prevail on management in effect to forbid Dinges from writing for *In These Times*.

I don't deny AIM the right to attack publications like the *Post* that violate their own canons of objectivity and neutrality. But AIM's arrow was not directed at the *Post* or the *Tribune*, but at *In These Times*.

There is a special irony in AIM's attacks against Dinges for writing for *In These Times*. In its July 24 article about Dinges' coverage of El Salvador's elections for *In These Times* and the *Washington Post*, *Human Events* acknowledged that Dinges revealed evidence supporting the legitimacy of the Salvadoran elections *In These Times* that was omitted entirely from his *Post* article. Even so, alerted by this article, AIM went after Dinges and with the help of a compliant *Post* administration, successfully severed his connection to *In These Times*.

Kincaid is probably unaware that the same tactics that AIM is using against *In These Times* were used against conservative publications like *National Review* during its fledgling years. Prominent conservative Russell Kirk, author of *The Conservative Mind*, had an article of his, already accepted for publication, returned when the editor learned of his association with *National Review*. Unless *Human Events*, Kincaid and AIM are willing to stand up now for the right of political publications, left or right, to exist, they may one day find their authors the target of Democratic or left-wing blacklisting.

This brings me back to my original question. I am not sure whether Kincaid's article was libelous—I do have a suspicion that he knew better when he wrote about *In These Times*' connection to IPS, but I don't find the link damaging, and I doubt whether a court would. But Kincaid's actions, as represented by his article and by his work for AIM, do amount to a concerted assault upon the standards of reason and coherence that should govern political polemicizing and the sense of honor and responsibility that should govern the relationship between journalists and publications of differing views. ■

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

NOTES

THERE IS A LIMIT TO THE STRIDENT tone and provocative innuendo of my fellow Rochesterian, Mitchel Kaidy (Letters, *ITT*, April 27).

If Mitch is telling me that the Israelis are somewhat less than the personification of perfection, I would agree. But would he care to compare the conditions in Syrian or Palestinian prisoner-of-war camps with those that he decries in the south of Lebanon? He cites Amnesty International as his source for condemning Israel. Is he aware that Arab states have top billing when it comes to Amnesty International's horror stories? Egypt, the best of the lot, recently had a whole dossier devoted to transgressions regarding the torture of political prisoners.

Moreover, would Kaidy care to compare Muslim treatment of Jews in Arab countries with Jewish treatment of Arabs in Israel? Would he care to examine Muslim behavior toward Christians during the PLO occupation of Lebanon? Would Syrian soldiers or PLO members hesitate one moment to kill Israeli soldiers or Israeli civilians?

Our own American forces failed to heed Israeli warnings about a probable attack on the U.S. embassy in Beirut. A staggering price was paid in lost American lives. Why does Kaidy choose to ignore that the real problem throughout the Arab world is not Israel, but the pervasive repression of their own people and the simmering paranoia, bordering on lunacy, of their leadership.

Let Kaidy look carefully at the photograph of the body of Dr. Issam Sartai (page 5, *ITT*, April 27). Why, Mr. Kaidy, is there such Arab contempt for reason and moderation?

—Gerald H. Evans
Rochester, N.Y.

SO WHAT'S WRONG WITH LUNATICS?

I WAS SOMEWHAT DISTRESSED TO READ in John Judis' reply to a letter (*ITT*, April 26) that support for an issue in a democracy should include everyone "except felons, infants and lunatics." It strikes me as curious that a left newspaper should want to exclude felons from its ranks. Who are these people who should not be part of our movement?

It seems to me that these "felons" (or at least those who are convicted for crimes designated as felonies) are by and large poor and working-class people, and disproportionately from minority groups. They include such people as the "habitual offender" in Texas who stole a total of \$220 in goods for whom the U.S. Supreme Court has decided that a life sentence is legitimate. They also include present and former draft resisters, as well as many anti-nuclear protesters.

Rather than using the current administration's approach to denying the existence of any social and economic factors in determining which people commit which types of crimes, we would do better to analyze the conditions that lead these "felons" to act as they do. It should also be our task to highlight the selective nature of our criminal laws and prosecution in generally punishing those who commit "crime in the streets" rather than "crime in the suites."

An analysis such as this does not need to deny the reality and seriousness of crime, nor to romanticize prisoners. It does lead us in the direction of alternative proposals to current ways of thinking about crime. There are already enough forces in society willing to dismiss large groups of people as "felons" and "lunatics"; we should not be adding our voices to them.

—Marc Mauer
Ann Arbor, Mich.

P.S. My "infant" daughter Joanna has asked me to convey her disapproval, too.

ONLY A WRITER

I WAS DISAPPOINTED IN CHRISTOPHER Hitchens' review of Joan Didion's *Salvador* (*ITT*, April 13). He dismisses her skills as an observer far too easily in his insistence that she provide a prescription for the disaster. Hitchens seems to feel all books on El Salvador should be policy papers, and all description is of a uniform competence.

Didion is a writer, not a foreign affairs specialist, and her power is in her ability to illuminate situations in a manner unlike the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*. For her to advocate a specific policy direction would not only be foolish, but would invariably alienate a large body of potential readers as the word got around that the book was "reactionary" or "lefty." As Hitchens notes, this book probably will be disliked by both the right and the left, but it addresses the needs of that fat middle sector who have a curiosity about El Salvador but don't want to wade through the pedantic and dry analyses to get an overview of the situation. *Salvador's* place on the bestseller list, and the absence of the many other books on El Salvador on the same, indicates its potential power. You can beat people over the head with political ideology until the cows come home, but unless there's a modicum of interest or curiosity on the part of the victim all efforts are for naught. Joan Didion, I believe, will provide that needed inquisitiveness.

—Wayne Curtis
Vestal, N.Y.

AIMS

THREE COMMENTS ON THE CONTROVERSY over John Judis' reply on the nuclear freeze movement (Letters, *ITT*, April 20).

First, in his long reply he says, referring to the Vietnam war: "U.S. officials like Colby saw themselves intervening on behalf of a beleaguered government opposed to a Communist insurgency." Perhaps. On the other hand, according to the April 18 *New Yorker*, the Pentagon Papers revealed that saving the South Vietnamese from Communism was not the main aim of the U.S. in persisting in the war. Rather, the main aim was the "psychological" one of preventing damage to the "reputation" of the United States.

Second, in his short reply, why does Judis put the word "comrades" in quotation marks? Is it a questionable designation, a significant one?

And last, please, you ask, try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Why, then, does Judis get an entire column plus for his reply?

—Lois Remple
Pueblo, Colo.

DIG IN, COLBY

JOHN JUDIS SPENT APPROXIMATELY 600 words of valuable "Letters" space (*ITT*, April 20) to defend the credibility of a recent ideological, if not spiritual convert: William Colby. His reply will fall on deaf ears since he relied too heavily on the "he really wasn't such a bad guy in the first place" approach (my quotes). Couldn't you say the same for Rudolf Hess or Martin Borman? Who would be convinced?

Colby just happened to find himself in charge of the criminal, excuse me, "invidious" Phoenix program in Vietnam, a pogrom which a Borman or a Hess would have been proud to participate in.

I agree with Judis, you cannot use "war criminal" in reference to Colby, but only because the Vietnamese were never able to bring him to trial. Does anyone doubt the outcome of such a trial? Not unlike Nuremberg, I would venture to guess.

Now here is my two cents worth. If it is important to establish Colby's credibility, I suggest that Judis examine the strength of his man's conversion. There are well established precedents. How about Charles Colson? Who believed in his rebirth? He had to become an overachiever to regain a measure of respectability.

Then if you go way back in history you find a man named Saul, a murderer by proxy. He never got his hands dirty either. When he tried to convince his newfound brothers and sisters of the truth of his conversion, they sent him home to Tarsus. Don't call us, we'll call you, was the distinct message. He did eventually get his chance, and he definitely was an overachiever. However, there were and there still may be those within the movement who doubt where he was coming from.

Should William Colby expect any better treatment? Confession may be good for the soul, but nothing convinces like achievement. He may have to get his hands dirty for a new cause.

—William Mann
Grafton, W.Va.

WORTHLESS NEGOTIATIONS

THE EUROMISSILE TALKS BETWEEN the U.S. and USSR are an insult to the intelligence of us all.

Whatever the outcome of these worthless negotiations, both sides know that the Soviets can simply take some of their ICBMs and submarine-based nuclear

missiles now aimed at the U.S. (they certainly have enough) and re-target them at Europe.

Of course, both the Russians and Americans have their reasons for participating in this charade. To the Kremlin, it's an agitprop man's dream-come-true. As the deployment date of the Pershing II and Cruise missiles approaches and the Europeans work themselves into a frenzy, the increasing strain between America and the NATO alliance will make the gas pipeline fiasco pale by comparison.

To the Reagan administration, these talks, by the very nature of their uselessness, are an ideal forum to exhibit "reasonableness," "flexibility" and "serious efforts on arms control." They are an indispensable shield behind which an enormous buildup of nuclear weapons can proceed.

So long as people (and the media) are content to distinguish between "long-range" and "short-range" nuclear missiles, the superpowers will continue to play that game. It is only by demanding that the talks on intermediate-range missiles be linked to massive reductions, if not outright elimination, of strategic nuclear weapons that the former negotiations have any relevance.

Maybe no amount of public pressure will cause the U.S. and USSR to touch their strategic arsenals. But at least we can show that we cannot be bought off with nonsense such as negotiations that deal only with intermediate-range missiles, as if longer-range missiles don't count.

—Paul Bakulski
Manchester, Conn.

INFANT RIGHTS

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ARTICLE (*ITT*, March 9) on the D.C. Infant Feeding Rights Act. D.C. INFANT also works to encourage similar local efforts elsewhere. We would be happy to assist anybody interested in working on informed choice in infant feeding and control of harmful infant formula marketing practices—which are problems in the U.S. as well as overseas. We can be contacted at 1201 16th St., NW, #231, Washington, D.C. 20036, phone (202) 331-1751.

—Lucy E. Richardson
Infant Feeding Project Coordinator
Washington

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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—Lois Remple
Pueblo, Colo.



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IN DEPTH

No first use is only a first step

By Ann Spanel

UNION OF CONCERNED Scientists (UCS), an organization formed in opposition to the Vietnam war and which has since advocated safety standards for nuclear reactors, recently produced a film and a report on no first use of nuclear weapons. The film's flier boasts "a realistic simulation of a high-technology battle" interspersed with interviews of key defense and military experts.

Filmed somewhat ominously "on location in northern Germany and Albuquerque, N.M.," the documentary features such military experts as British former chief of defense Field Marshall Lord Carver, who we see tapping a croquet ball on his estate, and British retired NATO commander Sir John Hackett, who calls the German cultivated field he walks through "ideal tank country."

There is also Vietnam era defense secretary Robert MacNamara, an early formulator of the no-first-use policy; an American retired admiral named Noel Gayler; and UCS chairman and former consultant to the Defense Department, Henry Kendall.

The report also bespeaks military influence. Its director, retired Vice Admiral John Marshall Lee, served for 38 years in the Navy, and was active as well in the Pentagon, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the United Nations.

Emphasizing the dangers of nuclear deterrence, the report recommends that a policy of no first use be adopted by the U.S. It also urges NATO to maintain a retaliatory nuclear force, which would serve as "a powerful deterrent" against a Soviet attack.

Since Warsaw Pact troops are numerically strong enough to launch, if not necessarily to win, a drive against NATO troops, NATO's non-nuclear strength should be increased, particularly in West Germany, the report finds.

These increases, which would include NATO's establishing a European rapid deployment force, acquiring new high-tech weapons and building field fortifications, would cost approximately \$100 billion over a six-year period.

Because nuclear weapons are a deeply engrained part of the U.S.' military policy, a major reorganization of military strategy and thinking would be necessary before no first use was adopted, the report states.

Such reorganization won't be easy, Ris believes. He said UCS wants to challenge the official view that "the Soviets are big giants about to cross the border," which is also the popular conception. He said the choice of high military officials would lend credibility to the study.

The Soviet Union has already declared that it would not use nuclear weapons first.

A significant criticism of the proposal was raised by its authors in an article last year in *Foreign Affairs*. In what seemed to many like good sense coming from

high places, Robert MacNamara, George Kennan, McGeorge Bundy and Gerard Smith conceded:

"No one on either side could guarantee that if conventional warfare broke out on a large scale there would be no use of nuclear weapons. As long as the weapons exist, the possibility of their use will remain."

Randall Forsberg, author of the nuclear freeze proposal, voiced a similar concern. A no-first-use pledge, she said, is "illusory without withdrawing the 7,000 tactical nuclear warheads stationed in Europe now."

The report does not say how the U.S. military policy would become structurally and economically denuclearized beyond the declaration of no first use, Michael Klare, author of studies on the conventional weapons trade, noted.

Specifically, it does not address the imminent deployment of Pershing IIs and Cruise missiles in Europe—the subject of massive grassroots resistance there. Both are first-strike weapons.

"We don't think the Pershings and Cruises should be implemented," Ris said. But he added that the administration should adopt no first use independent of its decision to install the weapons in Europe.

"We hope in the long run," he said, "that tactical nuclear weapons would be withdrawn from at least their forward-based positions" 100 to 150 kilometers west of East Germany.

That hope hardly reduces the threat, according to Forsberg.

"Any placement in continental Europe is 'forward placement,'" the weapons researcher said. "If nuclear weapons are left in Europe, in a conventional war they'd be used before they were overrun."

Ris said in response to this that if we were losing a conventional war, "we would fight to the death" rather than break the pledge of no first use.

Some are not so certain. "Has any great power, including the U.S., ever observed international law?" asks Noam Chomsky, author of studies on American interventionism.

Danger of technology.

Reliance on a technological solution underlies the increases for NATO that the report and the film recommend. These increases include high-technology weapons still under research or development, such as the precision-guided munitions whose "effectiveness" was "recently demonstrated in the Falklands operation," as the report puts it. Precision-guided weapons, also called smart weapons, are "target-seeking and target-discriminating" and have 50 percent accuracy in battle conditions.

Speaking of their use, Henry Kendall said at a recent showing of the film:

"Smart weapons don't work as well as they ought to, but they're part of the recipe."

Other indications of this faith in military hardware can be seen in the recommendation that NATO acquire still more computerized, electronic, micro-technology equipment, in which the Alliance already has a considerable advantage over the Warsaw Pact, according to the report.

There is also the decades-old recommendation that minefields, ditches and concrete structures be built between the two Germanys for NATO's defense. But even the report acknowledges that German farmers who object to the idea of explosives, bunkers and tunnels in their fields create something of a political problem, as do those Germans who hope for reunification.

Could a technological solution prevent nuclear war?

"It is naive to conclude that these weapons would reduce nuclear retaliation," said Michael Klare, who added that he did not categorically oppose the UCS proposal.

"I think they would increase it. In areas we're using these to attack the Soviet establishment, we have to assume they would use nuclear or similar weapons."

Klare further cautioned that "some of the weapons referred to implicitly in the report approach the lethal level of tactical nuclear weapons—like the Assault Breaker Program," which entails smart missiles carrying cluster bombs.

Klare noted that a conventional arms race of possibly inconceivable proportions could be set off by substituting conventional for nuclear warfare.

At least one large West German newspaper was of the same opinion. Following a Bonn press conference at which UCS announced the publication of its report, the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine* wrote on February 2:

"The results of the study are anything but comforting. The recommended adjustments would not do away with nuclear weapons and therefore to many would not be radical enough.... There would be increasing danger of conventional war that would not only wipe out our own country but the world at large before it could be restrained."

Nor does every scientist in UCS support the proposal. George Wald, winner of the Nobel prize in biology, said:

"We're in a world in which the aggressor is always on the other side, in which there are only defense departments and no war departments."

Both Wald and Chomsky said they viewed the declaration of no first use as meaningless. Wald called it "a matter of public relations."

"The standard claim of the ideological system is a major threat of a Russian attack on Western Europe. But that's crazy. The chances of that are extremely low," Chomsky said.

A more likely scenario might take shape in the Middle East, he continued.

"It happened in 1973, in fact, when Israel had surrounded the Egyptian Third Army after the cease-fire and was going to destroy it. The Russians mobilized an airborne division inside Russia and the U.S. called a nuclear alert. That's the real danger of war."

When Admiral Lee was asked for his opinion on the rapid deployment force—recommended by the report for Western Europe—he called it "a tripwire for nuclear war."

But he added, "It's not necessarily wrong, it has to be used with care. I'd support the use of it if we were trying to hold a beachhead at the northern end of the Persian Gulf, and if we had the forces to do it."

Asked to comment on the advisability of increasing the U.S.' military presence in the Middle East, an area which the report covers only briefly, Lee responded: "If we are prepared as a nation to give up militarily influencing operations all around the periphery of the Soviet Union, why there it is. But I think there are times that even when it isn't strictly speaking our business, we wish to be able to stick in our nose. And the more we are operating at home but with the capability of stretching out to the distance if necessary—I think that is the healthy way for us to go."

Union of Concerned Scientists, which claims 150,000 members, is waging an aggressive educational campaign on the no-first-use issue. Last November, UCS led teach-ins, some co-sponsored by Physicians for Social Responsibility, on 503 campuses.

Introducing the film to several hundred UCS supporters in New York this winter, Kendall defined the group's mission: "The peace movement in this country today lacks sustained and intelligent guidance. We think we can fill that gap." ■ *Ann Spanel is a New York-based writer whose work has appeared in the Progressive, National Catholic Reporter and In These Times.*

The First Strike Will Be The Last

The Pentagon is building first-strike nuclear weapons. These weapons are so quick and versatile that they can not be detected by radar. They are designed to attack Soviet missile silos with such precision that they would destroy the Soviet's

ability to retaliate. They are meant to be used first. To start a nuclear war.

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PERSPECTIVES

Reagan's search for damage reduction

By Eldon Kenworthy

THE PROBLEM IN SALVADOR is that we have alternatives, but we don't have choices." So complained James Cheek, deputy assistant secretary of state in the Carter administration. The Reagan team on coming to power rejected such pessimism. With U.S. assistance, they argued, Salvadoran democracy would rise from the ashes and the guerrillas would be reduced to discredited outlaws. But today in Washington, most off-the-record statements resemble Cheek's.

With the unreality of its choices becoming clear, the Reagan administration balks at its remaining alternatives. So maneuvering gradually shifts to "damage reduction," domestic political damage, that is: who will be stuck with "losing El Salvador," Congress or the presidency, Democrats or Republicans.

Most Central American and bordering governments, on the other hand, believe a negotiated solution still to be both possible and desirable. But they hesitate to take the initiative as long as the White House may undercut them. In Congress the pressure for making negotiations a condition for future military assistance builds. Still the administration resists, recognizing that for negotiations to be viable, the White House could not support them passively, safely out of sight of its right-wing supporters here and in Latin America.

For this alternative to work, Washington would have to lean heavily on the Salvadoran military. The oft-threatened cut-off of U.S. aid would have to seem a possibility for once, and the Reagan team would have to weather the denunciation of rightists accusing them—as they did the Carter administration—of selling out "our friends" and promoting communism.

Realists among President Reagan's advisers, such as Thomas Enders, under secretary of state for the region, gingerly consider negotiations, while hardliners, such as National Security Adviser William Clark, cling to a military solution that will make painful political compromises unnecessary. Both the President and the Secretary of State incline toward the hardliners. Thus policy lurches between two tendencies, often leaving key operatives out on a limb: Ambassador Deane Hinton, for instance, who is looking for a graceful moment to resign. Papering over these differences are polite but meaningless words for the Mexicans and some proposals for highly conditioned negotiations discussed below.

Meanwhile, the space for U.S. maneuvering contracts. The "military solution" cannot successfully be pursued without (1) a shakeup inside the Salvadoran military command—begun with the removal of General Garcia—that promises to undercut the fledgling land reform and hoped-for civilian rule, and (2) U.S. military advisers playing a more prominent role. Either development will cause Congress to cut U.S. aid or slap fresh conditions on its use. Better that Congress blow the whistle, the administration may calculate, or that the Salvadoran right decide to go it alone, than that the White House be tainted by a compromise that results in local Marxists sharing power in this poor and wasted country.

The White House hides its intransigence by claiming to seek a political solution of

its own. Refusing to let the left "shoot its way into power," the administration advocates amnesty for the guerrillas and participation by the left in the presidential election scheduled for December. Such a "political solution" may sound plausible to Americans who associate elections with the allocation of power. In El Salvador, unfortunately, things don't work that way. They never have and it will be some time before they do.

President Reagan refers to the election held a year ago as a watershed in Salvadoran experience. On March 12 he said, "Here is a government that has been democratically elected in a country that has had a history, back over the decades, of military rule." But last year's election was the tenth in 27 years. In the recent election votes were counted more honestly than before, but the true test of a fair election in El Salvador is the military's acceptance of an outcome it doesn't like, and that has happened in no election since 1930, including 1982's. The president talks about elections in El Salvador as if they were held in the U.S. where civilians control the military. The Salvadoran left, of course, knows only their own reality.

Liberal critics of administration policy, including Republican Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-Kan.), call for "unconditional discussions" while ruling out "power sharing." They want negotiations responding to one of the left's reasons for boycotting elections: its inability to campaign in safety. Since the Salvadoran military will not accept an international peace-keeping force, the candidates' security remains in the hands of those who failed to prevent the assassination of Christian Democrats during the last election and who, less than six months ago, abducted unionists linked to the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) legally working inside the country. Will media that accuse the Christian Democrats of fronting for the guerrillas allow the FDR to communicate its program? An election campaign held half a year from now in which leftist candidates participate effectively and safely would be miraculous.

The left's objection goes beyond the "chance to organize, to campaign, to present our ideas and thoughts" (FDR's Alberto Arene), however. The FMLN-FDR wants to share power, not merely offices. Restructuring the military and abolition of the hit squads are part of the left's agenda for negotiations. Immediately following the October 1979 coup,

FDR leaders collaborated with reformist officers known as *Juventud Militar*, of which the exiled Colonel Majano remains an acknowledged leader. Restructuring the military, then, does not have to mean only guerrilla leaders inserted into the chain of command. A variety of solutions are possible, including some linkage between a restructured military and fair elections, as happened in Zimbabwe.

But for U.S. policy, with its election-first prerequisite, all this remains undiscussable. By making elections the only basis for terminating the conflict, the White House advances a position the Salvadoran left can't take seriously and thus forecloses any but a military outcome. Reagan's "political solution" is a gambit to convince Congress and the American public that the Salvadoran left is unreasonable, in order to justify sending more arms to the military there.

Perhaps the president's counsellors hope that "staying the course" with the military solution will get them past our own 1984 elections. They project the next increment of U.S. training and weapons will now accomplish what has failed in the past. Announced on March 12 is an

With the unreality of his choices in El Salvador becoming clear, Reagan seeks to avoid blame for the "loss."

upcoming military sweep through two rebel-held provinces accompanied by "rural pacification *a la* Vietnam. Should the Salvadoran army really take the initiative, however, violence visited on peasants will escalate. When operating in hostile terrain, Salvadoran soldiers use indiscriminate firepower to avoid risk to themselves. Our military assistance provides the means: Huey helicopters, A-37 attack jets, armored personnel carriers, howitzers and fragmentation grenades. In recent months the air force destroyed the heart of the city of Berlin "in order to save it," after army units had slaughtered some 300 unarmed civilians in San Vicente, many of them children. The list could be extended. The point is: indiscriminate violence is not just the act of death squads or untrained civilian defense forces but the operations of regular military units, including ones the U.S. has trained.

Where the money goes.

Since Reagan took office, the U.S. has given the Salvadoran military some \$160 million in strictly military aid. If one adds money spent to keep the government afloat and repair infrastructure the army needs, the total approaches a billion dollars. This for an armed force of 22,400 men in a country the size of New Jersey, half of whose population earn less than \$250 per year—a place where in 1979 the government spent \$9 per person on health and \$22 on education.

President Reagan now asks Congress to reallocate to El Salvador \$60 million in military aid destined for Morocco. If ap-

proved, the U.S. will have invested \$10,000 per Salvadoran soldier over a span of three years—or, if you prefer, some \$30,000 per guerrilla. The administration is requesting an additional \$50 million in supplemental military aid in this fiscal year along with \$206 million for the next—another \$10,000 per soldier.

Where has the money gone? According to U.S. military sources, most of the arms presently received by the guerrillas are ours. Salvadoran soldiers not only leave ordnance behind when they retreat, they also sell it to the rebels. In recent testimony before Congress, ex-Ambassador Robert White said, "There are reports that I consider reliable that some military officers are selling arms before they get out of the crates to the rebels" since they "see the end of the road, and they want to have something when it's over."

What has U.S. training achieved? Off the record, administration officials express disappointment at the Salvadoran officers' failure to take the initiative; hence U.S. pressure to remove Garcia as commander-in-chief. Under consideration at the White House is a plan to in-

crease both the number of U.S. "trainers" and their range of action, if somehow this can be sold to Congress.

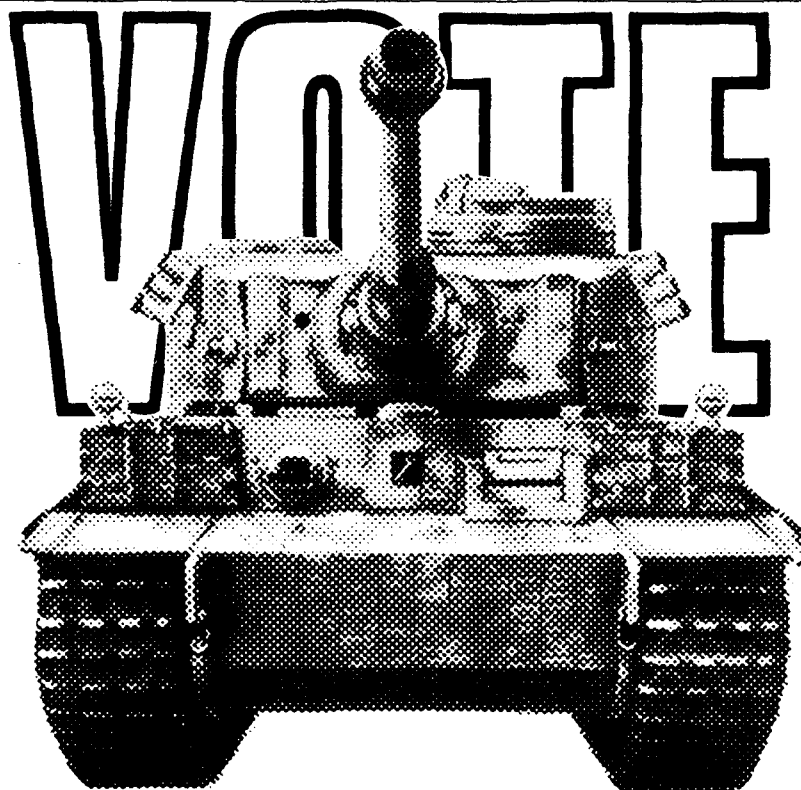
So Washington's electoral solution is unreal in the time frame that counts, while the military solution is a Hobson's choice; effective only if genocidal. A genuine political solution, however, still holds promise. Recent guerrilla successes have sobered Salvadorans who believed there could be business as usual in the cities while the army mopped up in the *campo*. As the war comes closer to them, and the promised military solution fades into the future, influential Salvadorans "in private conversation...speak favorably of at least talking with the opposition" (*New York Times*, February 27). The Pope's call for "dialog" furthered this process.

The White House, however, automatically links negotiated settlement to monopolization of power by indigenous Marxists to Soviet penetration, ignoring other possibilities at each link in this chain and denying its own ability to influence outcomes. A disinterested observer would conclude that the administration wants to prolong the Salvadoran war yet is afraid to say so openly; therefore, it slams a worst-case analysis down on all alternatives. Yet prolonging the war seems more likely to bring the Soviets into the region than accepting a Salvadoran regime with local Marxists in it.

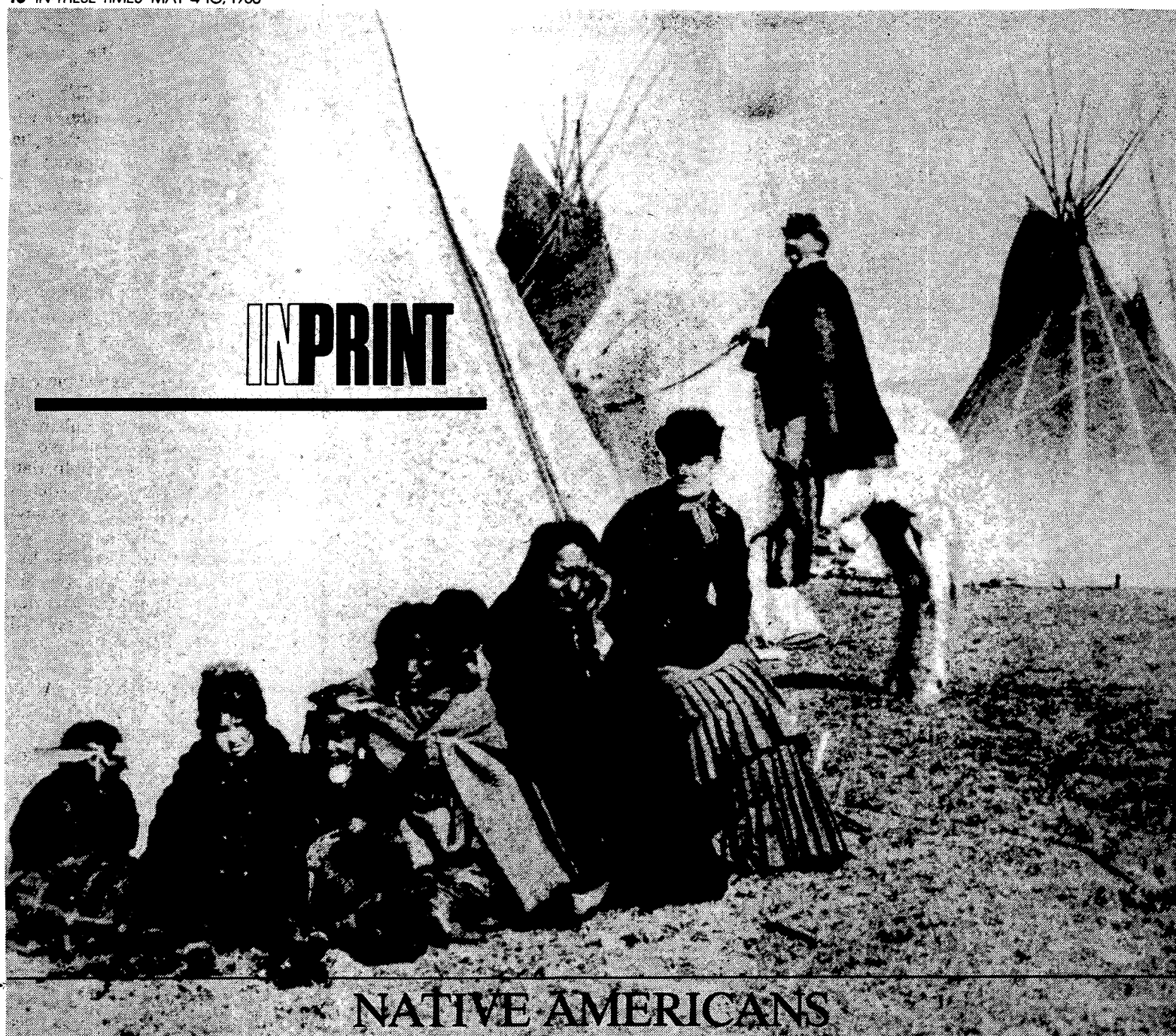
In recent congressional testimony, Undersecretary of Defense Fred Ikle exemplified the blindness that passes for realism when he said of El Salvador, "If we force those who wish to build democracy to share power with those bent on destroying it, if we simply wash our hands of the conflict, then the military strength that the Soviets and Cubans have assembled in the region is quite adequate to turn Central America into another Eastern Europe." In one rhetorical leap, Ikle moved from internal power-sharing to the specter of "another Eastern Europe," not pausing to consider why the Soviets would find net advantage in pursuing such a course, not reflecting on where Central America is situated in contrast to Eastern Europe and forgetting the role regional warfare played in the Sovietization of Eastern Europe 40 years ago.

Newsweek recently quoted "an administration official" proudly saying of Reagan, "This president is not programmed to give up another country to Communism." In that verb lies the poverty of U.S. diplomacy in Central America.

Eldon Kenworthy teaches Latin American politics at Cornell University. He acknowledges the help of Maggie Larson in preparing this and previous articles for *In These Times*.



INPRINT



NATIVE AMERICANS

Lessons for 1776, 1789, 1983

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse
By Peter Mattheissen
Viking, \$20.95, 628 pp.

Forgotten Founders: Benjamin Franklin, the Iroquois, and the Rationale for the American Revolution
By Bruce E. Johansen
Gambit, \$10.95, 167 pp.

Blood of the Land: The Government and Corporate War Against the American Indian Movement

By Rex Weyler
Everest House, \$16.95, 304 pp.

ly easy to trace. The English who came to North America were strongly Calvinistic, and disdained the "heathen" natives. Puritan preacher Cotton Mather labelled them "hounds of hell" and lauded their slaughter as a way of clearing the woods to "make room for better growth."

French view of Indians.

But the Catholic French were totally enamored by the natives. They intermarried, and brought back to France—along with their boatloads of furs—deep romantic visions of life in North America. From these visions came Rousseau's concept of "noble

savage." In particular, the remarkable Iroquois federation, formed around 1570, deeply affected European romantic thinkers. The matriarchal federation was run by a council whose delegates were chosen by each tribe's leading women, and whose oral constitution was unmatched as a means of tying warring nations into a union of peace. By the time of the American Revolution, it had lasted two full centuries.

Indeed, the Iroquois were widely compared by contemporary Europeans to the ancient Greeks and Romans. As Johansen shows, their words and those of other Indian tribes so moved

Ben Franklin that he published the proceedings of all the treaty councils he could find. In the 1750s he proposed a colonial union modelled after the Iroquois federation, pointing out that it "proceeded with better order than the British Parliament."

Such admiring observations found their way into the formation of the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and—for better or worse—the Constitution. Indeed, one gets the very important sense from reading *Forgotten Founders* that we owe a lot more to native society than anyone has imagined—and that what it has to teach may never have been more relevant.

Indians today.

Nonetheless, the U.S. government continues to deal brutally with the natives themselves. American Indian culture has never really died. But it took the struggles of the American Indian Movement (AIM), founded in 1968, to give it new strength and direction. AIM has had its share of internal problems, and has made its share of mistakes, many of them not so different from those made by workers in the labor movement, blacks in the civil rights movement, young radicals in the antiwar and antinuclear movements and women fighting for feminism.

But one can fairly say that no single politically active group has been assaulted with more violence and injustice than the native Americans. In part it is because their reservations now sit on an immense reserve of energy and mineral resources. In part, too, one can sense in the white power structure a lingering, instinctual unease about a people whose original claim to the continent has been ignored, and who will always hold the moral high ground in questions of what is to be done with it.

Two recent books by major white writers have underscored that reality. *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse*, by National Book Award winner Peter Mattheissen, and *Blood of the Land* by Rex Weyler, editor of *New Age* magazine, are searing accounts of current-day Indian struggles. The books focus on, among other things, the plight of AIM leader Leonard Peltier. Peltier has been sentenced to prison on charges of killing two FBI agents, but these two volumes offer strong evidence.

Continued on page 23

By Harvey Wasserman

Perhaps the greatest hidden secret in all American history is the fact that there was a full-blown civilization here before whites ever set foot on this continent—and that its codes of so-

cial behavior helped inspire the American and French revolutions.

Most American history books treat the Indians as a mere physical obstacle in the path of white expansion. A few liberal texts now wring their hands over the maltreatment of the natives, and even concede they might have had a few things to teach.

But the true depth of native American culture is studiously ignored. In fact, native America was a complex and—in human terms—highly advanced mosaic of nations, federations, tribes, clans and individuals that employed at least 500 languages and whose religious and philosophical systems were in some cases as ancient and sophisticated as those of India and China. Its prevailing views on human indivisibility with nature, on war, on sexuality, on women's rights and on the nature of social interdependence in retrospect seem more sane and just than the "civilization" brought by Europeans.

What Bruce Johansen has done in his groundbreaking book *Forgotten Founders* is demonstrate that the Indian culture in fact made a deep impression on key early American thinkers such as Ben Franklin and Tom Jefferson, who in turn integrated those ideas into the ideology of the American Revolution.

The flow of thought is relative-

BIOGRAPHY

The making of a peace leader

The Making of E.P. Thompson: Marxism, Humanism and History

By Bryan D. Palmer
New Hogtown Press, 12 Hart House Circle, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada, 145 pp.

By James Cronin

The left is characteristically hard on its heroes. A notable exception so far has been E.P. Thompson, who first became well-known in 1963 for his book *The Making of the English Working Class*.

In the late '70s he achieved

wider attention in theoretical circles for his scathing, elegant and witty criticism of Marxist structuralism and its French progenitor, Louis Althusser. And in the past two years Thompson has emerged as a critical figure in the movement for European nuclear disarmament.

In 1981 he was selected to

He developed keen analysis, not sectarian isolation.

present the prestigious Dibleby Lecture over the British Broadcasting System, but authorities blocked the choice. This banning of a prominent government critic from the airwaves provoked a storm of protest, and probably generated more publicity for Thompson's critique of nuclear weapons policy than the lecture ever could have.

Palmer's aim, in his clearly written and concise book, is to describe the personal and intellectual history of Edward Thompson. In a compelling way, he shows the continual interplay between politics and scholarship in Thompson's life and work and promotes his vision of socialist humanism.

Palmer begins with Thompson's activity in the British Communist Party during and just after World War II. Involvement in left-wing politics shaped his perspective—he was able to develop a keen, critical Marxist analysis without the encumbrance of sectarian isolation. During the '40s, it was possible

Continued on page 23

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By Kathleen Hulser

"Revolutionary ideas cannot be spread by means of dogmatic forms or schema which result in a lack of interest by the public or rejection. We must not forget that capitalism for its part employs a good dose of skill in order to embellish its injurious messages." —Cuban filmmaker Santiago Alvarez

A collection of Cuban documentaries and newsreels now touring the U.S. (see them in Chicago May 4 and 11 at the Art Institute, and later in Minneapolis at the Walker Art Center; in Berkeley at the Pacific Film Archives; and in New York City at the American Museum of Natural History) offers a rare chance to sample a body of non-fiction film that has helped Cuban cinema earn an international reputation in little more than two decades of existence. The films, made between 1972 and 1982, tell us much about how a tiny country with big social goals has parlayed its limited technical resources into fresh cinematic visions—and also, by implication, something about how the Cubans would like us to see them.

The documentaries, drawing heavily on local music and rural themes, tend to be cute rather than biting. The newsreels, on the other hand, are a bracing glimpse of filmmaker Santiago Alvarez at work—a major film artist who welds clashing concepts and materials into political statements as provocative in form and content as the films of the Russian revolutionaries Dziga Vertov and Sergei Eisenstein.

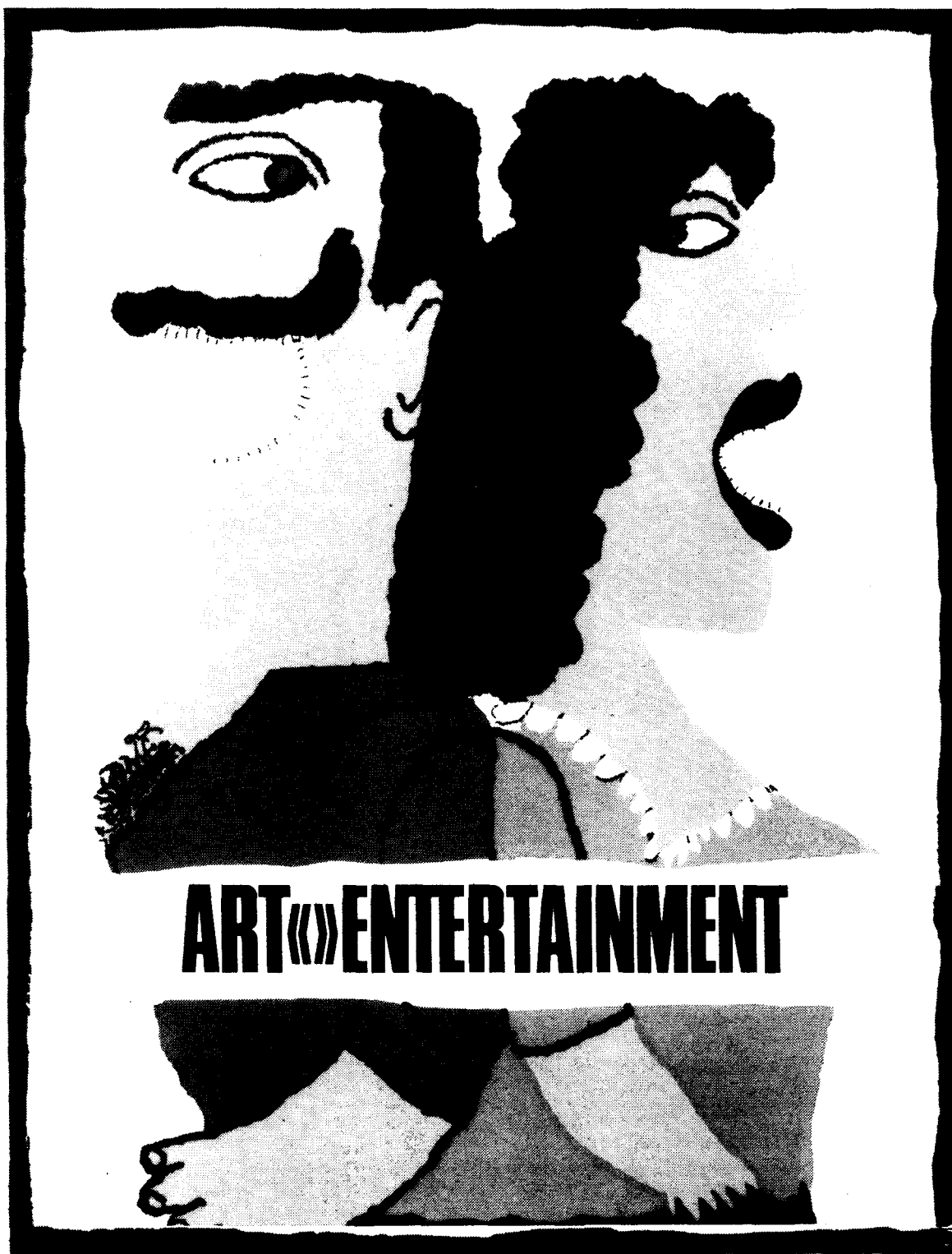
Many of the documentaries are built around a single charming character, like the herder in *Zero Per Cent Pedro* who recognizes the moo of each of his ambling charges, and claims he could extract milk from a cat if he could read (since he is already doing so well while illiterate). The Cuban cineastes prefer to see small scale events through the eyes of ordinary people, avoiding the temptation to let dreary experts drone on about facts and figures. The leading common element of this particular selection of films is, surprisingly, humor.

However, the gentle approach that dominates in these pieces does leave me wondering whether hard political themes are seldom treated in Cuban film, or whether the organizers believe the American public will only accept the "easy" material? In *the Land of the Sandino* by Jesus Diaz, the sole film dealing with the tough issues faced by the new Nicaraguan government, celebrates the Sandinista literacy campaign in a misty, lyrical manner reminiscent of nothing so much as a shampoo commercial.

Birth of an industry.

The Cuban film industry was almost a creation out of nothing. As of 1959 the available technological resources included archives from the two pre-revolutionary newsreel companies, a couple 35mm cameras, and one black and white lab. Shortly after the revolution, novices (many coming from a pre-revolution Cine Club that debated film and political culture) were making newsreels, and—ignorant of cinema's ground rules—they were quick to invent their own styles.

Jorge Fraga (director of Film



The documentary "Controversia" takes an unusual approach in illustrating sex role conflicts.

CUBAN FILM

Self portrait in celluloid

Production at ICAIC, the Cuban Film Institute) tells a revealing story about the origins of filmmaking in an interview published in Susan Fanshel's catalog for the show. "During the early '60s there was a clear awareness that it was a great historical moment. Theoretically, we had three alternatives: 1) to send people to other countries to study as filmmakers, 2) to bring filmmakers from other countries to train us and to create a film school, or 3) to go out into the streets with a camera and make film." They picked option three.

In terms of subject and treatment, Cuban conditions differ greatly from ours. American documentaries by independent filmmakers tend to be dissident—films motivated by an urge to tackle suppressed topics. In Cuba, documentary is produced within the state film institute and is not a marginal form of media. Working filmmakers by definition agree with the goals of the revolution, and therefore don't have the adversary relationship to their government that we take for granted. While this generalization simplifies conditions at ICAIC (and the diversity of aesthetics), it does help explain why you won't see tracts on jailed poets or exposes of consumer shortages or manifestos for gay liberation among these films.

Says Fraga: "Everybody knows that individual freedom

is based on the possibility of selection among different alternatives. Socialism doesn't suppress individual freedom in Cuba; socialism has offered us a different set of alternatives." These alternatives are partially defined by the weekly cinema debates that take place at ICAIC and embrace opinions from all of the 1,000 plus staff members.

Producing four to five feature films, 40 documentaries and 52 newsreels a year on its \$5 to \$7 million budget, ICAIC is also a distributor and sponsor of the Latin American Film Festival in Havana. Although nearly everyone in Cuba has a TV (or access to one), and most can tune in to Miami stations, ICAIC operates completely separate from TV. The non-fiction films are integrated into regular cinema showings, playing alongside dramatic features which may be American, Italian, Russian, Brazilian—or, of course, Cuban. After a visit to the island, Francis Coppola, for example, donated prints of *Godfather I* and *II* which proved immensely popular. In other words, the cinema offers Cubans fare ranging from capitalist entertainment to avant-garde agit-prop.

Obstacles spawn new style.

Santiago Alvarez, who warned against letting the U.S. embargo lead to cultural parochialism,

has taken his own advice to heart: his newsreels are far more daring than any comparable American piece I have seen programmed in a conventional cinema, and are a good deal grittier than the documentaries in this show. Alvarez made his first film at age 40 and continued creating a weekly newsreel for another two decades. His punchy, inventive film language—archival footage, bold graphics, captions, music and photos all collaged together—is a tribute to his ability to turn technical obstacles into an improvised style.

If the Cuban newsreel is defined as a short strong statement related to current events but not confined to them, the documentary is a kissing cousin. For instance *Controversia* examines male-female issues. This battle of the sexes floats the proposition "I can do anything you can do better" for local males to examine. As a cock crows for each macho opinion, the men in *Controversia* concede that women cook and wash better. Meanwhile director Rolando Diaz periodically cuts to a soap-opera Zorro strutting across the fields on a horse. Ultimately, the women win through irony—and the final shot trails the horse's behind as the romantic "hero" gallops off into the sunset. Although this little film is distinctly soft-sell feminism, it does mark official awareness of the work-

ing woman's double day tending the home and holding down a job.

Many of the factual films borrow from narrative film technique. *Simperele* represents the most experimental tendency in these documentaries, and it's an interesting failure. Juxtaposing a Haitian exile's laments with exterior shots of a re-enacted plantation rebellion, the piece lurches from the powerful persuasion of the singer's voice to the fabricated emotion of the action scenes.

The only investigative piece in this batch is *History of an Unloading*, a stab at a Cuban 60 Minutes format. The hero is a shipment of paper pulp that rots dockside while officials dither about its disposal. As anyone who has spent time in a socialist country knows, distribution and allocation snafus are rampant, and director Melchor Casals captures the universal bureaucratic shoulder shrug of the "responsible" person who is always convinced that someone else is to blame. An antidote to those who assume that state-supported film can't be critical, Casals' film tracks the paper pulp imbroglio deftly enough to make bureaucrats squirm. And even in this earnest problem film, humor occasionally bubbles to the surface, such as when the camera lingers on a huge crane trying to squeeze through a tiny warehouse door.

Dose of real life.

Until now, Cuban cinema has been best-known in the U.S. for fiction films such as *Memories of Underdevelopment* and *Lucia*. But this non-fiction show adds a dose of real life to that image.

I don't want to leave the impression that these documentaries are all masterpieces—some are, at most, a brief visit to an unfamiliar country and culture. Only the Alvarez retrospective warrants a rave. Also, some issues have been left in shadow. People tell me that in the mid-'70s, the Cubans made many films on Angola. Why were none shown with this group? And why was only one film by a woman included? Surely some account of the paucity of women directors, camera operators and technical personnel must be given for a film institute that has been responsible for training since its inception.

I also find it troubling that *The New School*, the one film close to the tractor-happy model of Soviet realism, was made by Jorge Fraga, the present director of production. Cubans are aware of the problems posed by didacticism. Filmmaker Rolando Diaz has explained if some films fail artistically, that should not necessarily be attributed to attempts to grapple with political themes. He defined failure as when "the artistry is not up to the political intentions of the filmmaker."

Still, taking the touring films as a cross-section, it's far superior to any possible package of state-produced American documentaries. It's not easy to make politics and art work in tandem, but the Cubans show themselves open to debate. Whatever the strains, these documentaries link manner to matter. These filmmakers couldn't have portrayed so many people so full of life if their craft, too, wasn't vital. ■ Kathleen Hulser edits *The Independent*, a film and video monthly serving independent producers.

LIFE IN THE U.S.



Lionel Delvingre

AGRICULTURE

Down on the farm: a family fights to stay on the land

By Dick Dahl

CHISAGO COUNTY, MN

ROGER AND BARBARA JUREK had been married three years when they bought their farm in the sand five miles northeast of Stacy in 1962. He was 25 years old and a Navy veteran who wanted nothing more than to have a farm of his own. She was 25 years old and a city girl from St. Paul who had met her husband-to-be when he was an electrician at a Honeywell plant, restless with the restrictions of the city.

"He always wanted to farm," Barbara says today. "I knew that when I married him."

The Jureks still live on the farm and make their living from it. And although the operation is much larger than when they started out, one thing hasn't changed: they are still clinging—only clinging—to their farm.

Roger Jurek is the first to admit he has a poor financial statement. He knows what a liability that can be in a time of burgeoning foreclosures, bankruptcies and forced liquidations. At least 2,500 farmers went out of business in Minnesota last year. There may be at least that many this year.

At 46, Jurek is starting to talk about being too old to continue the arduous, twice-a-day, seven-days-a-week routine of milking his herd of Holsteins. Yet he is obviously proud of building a 500-gallon-per-day dairy operation out of the Chisago County sand and never missing a farm loan payment.

"I don't know if it's the independence," he says. "I do like the outdoors and growing things. Growing crops I enjoy—the animals, too. There's unlimited technology coming out of farming now, and I feel bad about it because I'm just too old to do anything about it. We daily produce on this farm methane gas (from cattle manure) equal to 85 gallons of LP gas. And there's going to be a lot of solar applications in farming. I'll just have to ignore them. I'm getting too old. I don't have the time to be retrained—at least I don't think I do."

Jurek came to love farming as a boy near St. Cloud when he worked for farmers in the area. The farm that he and Barbara bought was 200 acres, 70 of them tillable. The tillable acres were sandy and depleted from inadequate fertilization and conservation. The 1961 crop production was only 20 to 30 percent of what it should have been, Jurek remembers. The farmstead had a two-story frame house, but the only usable out-building was a

small, 50-foot-long barn.

"It had virtually no income potential," Jurek says. "But we could handle it financially. We looked at a lot of nice farms, but they were just unobtainable. We got this on a direct GI loan—\$1,000 down payment and 5 percent interest."

The farm cost only \$15,000, but the loans required to buy machinery, a dairy herd, fertilizer, seed and additional grain-storage space never stopped. So like many farmers, Jurek began robbing Peter to pay Paul. He took loans from the Production Credit Association (PCA), a national farm lending cooperative, and then the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA), a federally financed lending agency designed to help marginal farmers. The people in town who provide seed, fertilizer and chemicals extended substantial credit to the Jureks.

Meanwhile, Roger Jurek figured the only way he could become self-sufficient and reduce the indebtedness was to become larger, which required more loans and increased debt. He felt he was sacrificing the short term for the long term. It was a vicious cycle, made all the more vicious by the ready collateral provided by land that tripled in value during the '70s.

Somehow, Jurek coaxed enough corn, soybeans and other crops from his soil, and arrived at the right management decisions to make payments to his lenders. And luck was with him, too, although in ways that weren't always immediately evident.

One day in 1974 a new PCA field manager stopped by the Jurek house, examined the Jurek financial statement and declared he would have to terminate a critical portion of his agency's real estate loan—an arrangement by which PCA advanced operating money to Jurek from his \$4,000-a-month loan payments. It was a devastating blow that seemed sure to put the Jureks out of business within a year. But a killing frost occurred early that year, arriving one night in August. It was a blessing in disguise, even though it wiped out most of his crop. The early frost, coupled with generally miserable farm prices that year, qualified Minnesota as an agricultural disaster area. It also qualified the Jureks for an FmHA disaster loan of \$50,000, allowing them to continue farming. In 1977, FmHA gave them another one—\$375,000 of refinancing, payable over 50 years. Most of their \$4,000 monthly milk check goes to repay the FmHA.

Today, Roger Jurek farms 2,000 acres, 1,500 of them rented at an average cost per acre of \$38. He pays \$70,000 interest on his loans. Yet he intends to go even

further into debt this year by taking over payments on 420 nearby acres. He figures it will be his last big gamble.

The land will cost Jurek more than \$300,000, paid to the owner in yearly installments until the year 2000. He plans on making the payments from the value of crops that he'll grow on the land. But he will have to sell his 70 steers to make the first payment of \$29,000. "It will hurt our financial statement," he says. "It will hurt our ratio, but I think it will make our future better. I think that controlling the land, knowing we can farm it year after year, is worth upset in our financial statement."

If he buys the additional land, Jurek will be over \$1 million in debt. His current debt is about \$850,000, with assets of just over \$1 million. His net worth, he says, is about \$170,000, though to convert his assets to cash assumes a systematic sale, which could take two years.

Roger Jurek figures he has worked nearly 15 hours a day, seven days a week, for the last 21 years to keep his dream alive. If he were forced to liquidate this year, it is possible that he might not do much better than break even. And as the news of farm foreclosures and forced li-

quidations becomes commonplace, the Jureks know it could happen to them.

Almost all farmers borrow money in the spring to pay for planting, then pay it back—if they can—in the fall. For the last five years, Jurek received his spring operating loans from FmHA, the federally supported "lender of last resort." But five years is the limit in operating loans from FmHA.

This spring Jurek is going to have to take his marginal financial statements around to local banks and argue that he has, after all, always managed to make his payments. He will need somewhere between \$75,000 and \$90,000 to plant this year's crops. A third will be used to pay half his land rental costs (the other half is paid in the fall), a third for fertilizer and a third for other chemicals and seed.

While making payments is essential, PCA has already told the Jureks that it is not necessarily enough. As Ron Stofkopf, executive vice president of the People's State Bank of Cambridge, explains, lenders are generally concerned with two things when they size up an applicant: current assets and current debts. "We like them to be two-to-one," Stofkopf says—two units of assets to one unit of



Ann Marsden

debts. For Jurek, the ratio is out of kilter. For his \$1 million in assets he should have \$500,000 in debts, not \$850,000.

Roger Jurek is stretched about as far as he can go.

In a sense, the factors that led to the doubling of the state's farm indebtedness over the last five years are easy to understand.

First, largely due to President Reagan's decision to firm up the dollar in international trade, foreign demand for American food has declined. Decreased international demand translates to domestic oversupply and lower prices. Until recently, with the introduction of a program known as Payment in Kind (PIK), farmers were going on three straight years of poor prices. The depressed prices had spinoff effects. Land and machinery values, which had escalated rapidly ever since the bonanza year of 1972, began to decline. The appreciating land values had provided easy equity for farmers to use in securing more and more loans.

Farmers paid tremendous prices for loan money. According to the Minnesota Federal Reserve Bank, state farmers paid \$1.1 billion in interest payments in 1981—the highest single farm production cost in the state. It was an almost unbelievable 60 percent increase from the previous year's \$694 million.

Jerry Heil, director of planning for the state agriculture department, says that farm foreclosures are up "two to five times from the mid-'70s."

The solution to foreclosures offered by pro-family-farm supporters often is an extension of credit, raising the question: aren't there some farmers who *should* go out of business? That is when the finger-pointing starts.

"1981 and 1982 were the toughest years since the '30s, so you'd expect we'd have people in trouble," says Russ Bjorhus, Minnesota's FmHA director. "A lot of farmers think we place too much blame on their management. But when things get tough, the ones who are the best managers are the ones who survive. We do have people who just can't manage a modern farm with its high overhead. A lot of these large places didn't get big because of economics. They got big because they wanted to get big."

Cambridge banker Stofkopf agrees. "Farmers have had their backs against the wall for the last three years. Management has played a big part in whether or not they make it. And a certain percentage [of farmers] can't even get the concept of what they're dealing in."

But there is a substantial belief that farmers wouldn't have overextended themselves had they not been advised to

1981 and 1982 were farmers' toughest years since the '30s.

do so by agricultural "experts." One who believes this is Burt Peterson, a director at the Cambridge bank. "We don't want to save every farmer," he says. "Some are too far gone; it's no use prolonging their agony. But some are in trouble through no fault of their own." He blames the large lending institutions and university agricultural advisers for brainwashing farmers into believing bigger is better.

"The trouble is, there's so much 'big' money and so little 'little' money," says Peterson, who operates Peterson's North Branch Mill. "The banks are filled with money. All loans are based on cash flows. And you just can't cash-flow this situation anymore."

Peterson says that Roger Jurek owes him a lot of money. Peterson says he gets \$1,000 out of every monthly Jurek milk check for accounts that are due. It's in his best interest, he says, to support someone with a credit problem because of the alternative. "We hate to see big business come in here and rent the kinds of acres they do. They come in with their own outside sources of fertilizer and seed. We'd lose merchants all up and down

main street."

While the heralded 1983 Payment in Kind program—an arrangement by which farmers will be allowed to keep land idle and be paid for it without going through spring production costs—has already boosted corn prices above \$3 and given farmers something to be happy about, the program works against Peterson and other agribusiness suppliers. The sign-up in his area will idle almost 40 percent of the acreage in the North Branch area. Peterson figures that will take a 40-percent bite out of his business and cause him to lay off five people from his 20-person payroll. He considers the PIK



Although Roger Jurek's family farm operation is worth \$1,000,000, he and his wife live on only \$400 a month.

program a Band-Aid, with repercussions for towns that rely on farm money. Farmers are not coming to town for supplies like they used to, he says, and the drop in business is being felt up and down North Branch's main street.

Feeding time.

It is 4:00 p.m. and time for Jurek to feed his cattle. He gives them silage, followed by ground corn that he totes from cow to cow in a wheelbarrow—one large scoop, a gallon or more, per cow.

Jurek stands next to his large, stainless steel bulk milk tank with a syringe in hand and draws five cc's of a penicillin-streptomycin solution for an ailing calf. Outside, he injects the solution into the calf's left flank and touches it almost lovingly. The calf has a ring of foam on its mouth. "Looks like it won't make it," he

Although 1980 was the last good year for crop prices, "unfortunately, we didn't sell enough that year. We held most of 1980's crop until this year."

Why did he hold it? "Listening to experts, I guess. Corn was \$3 [per bushel] and going up. Forecasts were that it would go to \$4 or \$5." Instead, it went down.

More than anything, the Jureks wanted a new kitchen, so they remodeled the old one themselves, drawing from their own allotted income from the farm—\$400 a month.

It seems astounding that this man, who so casually rattles off six- and seven-digit

dollar figures related to his operation actually draws only \$100 a week for himself and Barbara. Everything he makes is allocated elsewhere. His milk check pays FmHA and other debts. His two full-time employees haven't been paid for a while because he needs to sell corn to do it.

When he talks about buying the additional land, he tightens his face, looks away and says, "It's going to be nip and tuck. But it's available now and we have to do it."

The trouble with his current operation, Jurek says, is that he rents so much land on such marginal soil that it doesn't pay to increase its productivity by investments in fertilizer and soil productivity. He can't get long-term leases from any of the 20 men—many of them city-dwelling land speculators—from whom he rents. "I would say a third of my net worth is in

capital. If you want to operate like the neighbors, or as the trend is, with the machinery, it requires capital."

He says he was never pressured by PCA or anyone else to expand more than he wanted. The Jurek operation became bigger because Roger Jurek wanted it that way.

"I guess I wouldn't like working out here for...for Honeywell. I wouldn't have the interest I have now. That kind of thing isn't working in Russia. Russia can't feed itself. But Russia could feed itself if it had our system. It could export food. It *would* export food. I think a private-corporate arrangement wouldn't be

a whole lot different from state-owned. And I think there'd be a high disregard for the value of the land. With a family farm there's a natural tendency to protect it for the next generation. I think I can honestly say I've never farmed an acre of land that hasn't been improved when I was done with it."

A master plan.

It is milking time. We walk toward the barn through the slush left by a spring snowstorm. Barbara is already at work in the barn. She moves like a whirlwind, transferring the six milkers from cow to cow, attaching a clear and yellowed plastic tube from the milkers to pipes that lead to the bulk tank. The milk is drawn from the cows in spurts, visible through the tubes. Roger washes the udders and teats of the cows before and after the milking to prevent infection. The place sounds like a factory, the ker-thump ker-thump of the bulk-tank motor drawing about 100 spurts of milk per minute from each of the six milkers. It takes about an hour and a half to milk the 71 cows.

Roger says that if he had to leave his farm he wouldn't want to return to electronics. He says he'd like to work for another farmer—that way he could do what he loves and be free from the financial strains.

That brings up what Roger Jurek calls his "master plan." He would like to sell equal shares of his farm to several partners, then work for them. He says two of his workers, now about 20 years old, are likely candidates. He would love to let them buy in. "You could bring in some young people with new ideas and new technology, and the old guy could still be around with some experience."

The "old guy," of course, would be Jurek himself. And in the absence of another generation of Jureks—Roger and Barbara have no children—the young partners would be the next best thing. The farm could be passed on to people who would love it and care for it.

As you watch Roger Jurek completing another 15-hour day, you realize that's probably all he ever really wanted in the first place.

Dick Dahl is news editor of *City Pages* in Minneapolis, where a version of this story first appeared.



says, and walks back toward the barn. He suggests we go into the house for a cup of coffee before the milking starts.

The Jureks' priorities do not fall within the realm of vanity. Their house is unpainted and their yard is mostly dirt. "We were hoping to build because we tried a couple of times to get a remodeling loan, and all the bankers felt the house was just not sound enough, which is probably true," he says. "Our plans in 1980 were to build a new house, but that summer we realized it was impossible."

increased productivity of rented land. If I would lose it, it's just like throwing your net worth out." When he buys the new land, he intends to quit renting, thereby cutting his total acreage in half. It will be the first contraction in the size of the Jurek operation.

"If we wanted to, we could have moved onto a very small thing and survived," he says. "If that's your idea, you could probably buy five acres today and become self-sufficient. But if you want to be a normal, operating farmer it requires

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creates problems. What Thompson describes as an "inertial thrust toward extermination" rooted in the interests of the military-industrial complexes on both sides does not go very far toward explaining the current escalation of the arms race or the Cold War.

The most immediate explanation of Cold War escalation lies in the U.S. revival of interventionism toward the Third World and belligerence toward the Soviet Union. This shift in American policy became apparent under Carter, especially in the last year of his administration. It has accelerated under Reagan. Current American policy involves militant opposition to Third World liberation movements. In the name of anti-Soviet ideology the U.S. is pursuing world hegemony. The goal of an "American Century" was beyond the reach of the U.S. even in the early years of the Cold War, when opposition to U.S. control was relatively muted. Such aims have now become entirely unrealistic. The quixotic character of this quest leads the Reagan administration to adopt increasingly suicidal policies. The U.S. pursuit of first-strike capability, especially through the MX, the establishment of Rapid Deployment Forces to facilitate intervention in the Mideast, the intention of using Western Europe as a launching pad for nuclear weapons aimed at the Soviet Union and plans, announced in Caspar Weinberger's "defense guidance," to prepare to wage prolonged nuclear war against the Soviet Union all raise the danger of nuclear war to an unprecedented level.

While these alarming policies have taken hold in Washington, the USSR has invaded Afghanistan and suppressed a democratic uprising in Poland. And the Soviet Union continues to build up its nuclear arsenal.

But there are important differences be-

tween U.S. and Soviet policy, differences the peace movement should not ignore. The Soviet Union has intervened in areas that it considers essential to its territorial defense, but that it judges not to be priorities for the U.S. It has refrained from involvement in areas that the U.S. has staked out as its own. There are significant differences between the structure of Soviet and U.S. forces, nuclear and conventional. Soviet nuclear forces are largely land-based, while roughly two-thirds of U.S. nuclear forces are sea- and air-based; this makes the USSR particularly vulnerable to an American first strike. The U.S. holds and continues to develop conventional forces, aimed at intervention in the Third World, that have no equivalent in the Soviet Union. U.S. intervention in some Third World nation, perhaps in Central America, under the name of opposition to the Soviet Union, could easily lead to the nuclear war that the Reagan administration evidently believes it can win.

Soviet policy follows the perceived self-interest of a powerful state on the defensive in relation to its stronger rival. Its actions suggest a healthy fear of an aggressive opponent that might at any time step over the line between nuclear threats and nuclear warfare.

It is crucial that the peace movements of the U.S. and Europe oppose the anti-Sovietism of the Reagan administration clearly and forcefully. Thompson's view of the U.S. and the Soviet Union as fundamentally mirror images of one another, more collaborators than rivals, supports the argument that the Soviet Union has attained military parity with the U.S. and that a continuation of the arms race is necessary to avoid Soviet supremacy. It is important for the peace movement to point out that these claims are false, that the Reagan administration has greatly exaggerated the Soviet threat for its own purposes. The peace movement should continue to criticize Soviet suppression of democracy and Soviet involvement in the arms race; but this need not stand in the way of recognizing the differences be-

tween Soviet and U.S. roles in the Cold War.

Barbara Epstein teaches American history at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

S.I.

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ious deterioration in the international situation at the end of this year. Time is quickly running out for the negotiators. The deadline set in the NATO double track decision is next December. And 1984 is election year in the U.S., which traditionally has paralyzed arms control efforts." Thus, in the presumed absence of final results at the Geneva Euromissile negotiations, the SI final resolution asked the U.S. and the USSR to con-

clude "an interim agreement consisting of balanced mutual commitments without destabilizing actions."

This ambiguous wording was understood to mean that the U.S. would refrain from deploying Pershing II and Cruise missiles to allow more time for negotiations. Only the French socialists abstained from approving this passage—joined by the Social Democrats USA (SDUSA).

SDUSA's presence at the congress was marginal compared to DSA and Harrington. But in the weeks leading up to Albufeira, SDUSA leader Carl Gershman had been touring Europe contacting Socialist parties and labor unions. Gershman, UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick's assistant, is in charge of State Department relations with the SI. According to German sources, European organizations reluctant to meet with a group reputed to have CIA ties got a call

DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

Association for Workplace Democracy
1747 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20009

The Citizens Party-National Office
2000 P Street, NW, #200
Washington, DC 20036

The Citizens Party of Illinois
109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603
Chicago, IL 60602
(312) 332-2066

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy
120 Maryland Ave., NE
Washington, DC 20002

The Citizens Party of Minnesota
3255 Hennepin Avenue,
Room 121
Minneapolis, MN 55408
(612) 827-5362

DSA-Democratic Socialists of America (formerly DSOC/NAM)
853 Broadway, Room 801
New York, NY 10003

1300 W. Belmont
Chicago, IL 60657
29 29th Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

Midwest Academy
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

National Center for Economic Alternatives
2000 P Street, NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

New Patriot Alliance/DSOL
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

Socialist Party
1011 N. 3rd St., No. 201
Milwaukee, WI 53203

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Beth Maschlinot**.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

May 3

Unity Coalition Sponsors Discussion of Progressive Electoral Options in 1984. Barry Commoner, Citizens Party; Gus Hall, CPUSA; Marge Harrison, N.Y.S. Democratic Party; Prof. Manning Marable, DSA; Jane Benedict, Metropolitan Council on Housing. Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West. 7:30 p.m. Contribution: \$2.

May 4-6

"Hidden Crisis: The First Amendment and the Future of Democracy," a free conference sponsored by John Jay College and FOIA, Inc. Keynote by Julian Bond, Wed. at 7:00 p.m. Panelists include Ruth S. Meyer, Lester Cole, Noel Corea, Victor Goode, Mary Berry, Dorothy Samuels. 445 W. 59th St. For info: (212) 477-3188.

May 22

A Debate: "The Soviet Union—Socialist or Social-Imperialist?" 12:30 p.m. at International House Auditorium, 500 Riverside Dr. (123rd & Riverside Dr.), (212) 685-3120. P.O. Box 924 Cooper Sta., NYC, NY 10276.

CHICAGO, I L

May 4-10 & 11-17

"Socially Responsible Investing: How to make money without compromising your social and political values." Sponsored by Crossroads Fund, 1:00-5:00 p.m., One IBM Plaza. Workshops on responsible corporate investment and options for investing in neighborhood economic development. Registration \$12. For more information, call Crossroads, (312) 987-0941.

May 7

Norman Thomas-Eugene Debs Dinner honoring Joyce Miller. Featured speakers: Mayor Harold Washington, Congressman Ron Dellums, McCormick Inn. Cocktails-6:00, Dinner-7:00. Tickets: \$25. Information: 871-7700. DSA, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

BERKELEY, C A

May 7-8

"Hard Times, Hard Choices: Action Strategies for Health and Human Services." A conference to develop ways to protect and expand health

and human services in the face of cutbacks and unemployment. Featuring Frances Fox Piven, Harry Britt, Gus Newport, Pat Jackson with community leaders, advocates, and health and human service workers. South Berkeley Union Center, 2939 Ellis St. (at Ashby). Begins at 9:00 a.m. Registration \$5/day. Unemployed: half price. Childcare available if reserved by May 5. For information, call (415) 893-8766 or 864-5042.

EUGENE, O R

May 20-22

Pacific Northwest Labor History Association Annual Conference, University of Oregon, Eugene. Phil Foner, Jimmy Herman, Henry Stamper. "Economic Depression: Then and Now." Contact: Labor Education and Research Center, University of Oregon, (503) 686-5054.

LAKE GENEVA, W I

May 27-30

The Midwest Radical Therapy Conference. MWRTC theme: "Emotional Literacy—Political Power," is designed to begin a dialog between community organizers and alternative therapists. Workshops include: Unlearning Racism, Socialist Feminists Organizing, Mediations, and People's Movement in Song. For more information, write to Sue Brown, 2101 Pickett, Springfield, IL 62703, or call (217) 529-8148.

ATLANTA, G A

May 28-29

"Economics, Peace and Laughter"—Economic and Cultural themes in the movement for Peace and Justice. The Third Annual Southern Socialist Conference. Speakers will include: Manning Marable, Barbara Ehrenreich, and Stanley Aronowitz, and others. Registration is \$12, or \$5 low income/student. Sponsored by Democratic Socialists of America. Replies to Atlanta DSA, P.O. Box 89036, Atlanta, GA 30312. Accommodations available: \$15/person/night.

NASHVILLE, T N

June 3-4

"Arms Race vs. Human Needs: A National Conference on Jobs, Peace and Freedom." Workshops and plenary sessions on U.S. militarism in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean; Jobs with Peace and Freeze campaign assessments; peace movement and the Left; Racism and the arms race; Third World women and disarmament. Speakers include: Cornel West, Jean Sindab, Herbert Hill, Tony Mazzocchi, Hulbert James, Bertram Gross, Bell Hooks, Anne Braden. Registration \$10. Low cost housing available. Contact: Manning Marable, Director, Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, TN 37203. (615) 329-8578/8577.

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from AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland telling them Gershman was his boy. SD-USA is lobbying against Brandt's line that spending should be shifted from weapons to economic development. The ambition is to deliver organized labor support to the arms race and the "ideological anti-Communist crusade."

The Reagan administration also appears hopeful that it can use southern European Socialists as ideological cover for police operations in Africa. The American embassy openly favored the election of Mario Soares in Portugal to make it politically more acceptable to dispatch the new Portuguese rapid deployment force to Portugal's former colonies in Africa. The idea is to get the Cubans out of Angola and counter Soviet influence in Mozambique and the rest of southern Africa. The SI conference on southern Africa, to be held in Arusha, Tanzania, June 17-18, will probably call on parties in office to do what they can to help the front-line African states, and this could provide a respectable occasion for the Portuguese to send military aid ■

Making

Continued from page 18

to be at the same time resolutely democratic, thoroughly internationalist and socialist, and staunch in defense of British traditions. Despite the enormous horrors of the war and the subsequent disappointments of a peace perverted by the Cold War, the atmosphere was enormously liberating for a short while, and

Thompson's generation of leftists had optimism about the prospects for socialism. And later, Thompson refused to succumb to the pessimism that allowed many to accept the limitations placed on the freedoms of working people in Eastern Europe by Stalinist bureaucracies.

Patriotic socialism.

This vision that captured Thompson's imagination after the war formed the core of his theoretical and historical work. One key element was respect for the thoughts and ideas of ordinary working people. A key element of this view is a belief that left social movements can and often must take on some nationalist and patriotic coloration. This has given Thompson a unique appreciation for the democratic values in English culture. This is demonstrated not only in his work on the poet William Morris but also in his re-evaluation of the intellectual world of the late 18th and early 19th century English radicals and, more recently, in his essays on English law. This perspective has allowed Thompson to develop a subtler understanding of English life and culture than any previous Marxist, and, because of this, to anchor his critiques within the values of the society.

The main contribution this book makes is to show how Thompson's history and theoretical work are bound up with his politics. As an historian, Palmer does this extremely well. As a political analyst, however, he is less satisfying. The book says almost nothing about the culmination of Thompson's political commitments in his absorption in the current campaign for nuclear disarmament (see centerspread this issue). Palmer also has

a recurring and annoying tendency to suggest that, brilliant as Thompson is, he would be smarter still by far if only he would read Trotsky. Perhaps Thompson has not ignored Trotsky, but rather, fully aware of Trotsky's virtues, refuses to struggle free of one dogmatic sect only to embrace another. ■

James E. Cronin teaches history at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Indians

Continued from page 18

dence that his only "crime" was his effectiveness as a political organizer.

Crazy Horse includes a strong opening section on the long history of the white onslaught against Indians. Both books offer riveting—and often deeply moving—accounts of how the FBI and Department of Justice (aptly termed "just-us" by Indian activists) has moved to crush this latest attempt of the native peoples to stand up. One gets the sense from reading these books that no matter what else we do, the U.S. cannot progress without doing these people justice. Nor, indeed, will justice be enough. We are also going to have to finally get a grasp—as Rousseau and Franklin started to do—on the full wisdom of native society and what it had to teach us all about survival as humans on this planet. ■

Harvey Wasserman's book *America Born and Reborn: The Cycles of U.S. History*, will be published in January. He is co-author of *Killing Our Own*.

Emma

Continued from page 24

Two new studies of her life currently in the works—Alice Wexler's *Emma Goldman: A Radical in America* (Pantheon) and Candace Falk's *Love, Anarchy and Emma Goldman* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston)—might make that job easier. So perhaps, finally, the anti-Emma and the pro-Emma will make way for a new synthesis.

One thing's for sure: we haven't seen the last of Red Emma. E.L. Doctorow's novel *Ragtime* and the movie *Reds* have only whetted the appetite for Goldmaniana. Howard Zinn is revising his play *Emma* for an Off-Broadway production; Richard Drinnon's ground-breaking biography *Rebel in Paradise* was just re-issued by the University of Chicago Press; and the Canadian Broadcasting Company recently prepared a multi-part radio program about her. Let's just pray that the future doesn't consign the Queen of the Anarchists to the "harmlessly cute" category of American history—that would be both a trivialization and a whitewash. Rumor has it that Barbara Streisand has always wanted to star in a Hollywood epic on Emma. Now that might give the word "co-opted" new meaning. ■

Karen Rosenberg's article on Emma Goldman's unpublished letters will appear in the summer issue of *Dissent*.

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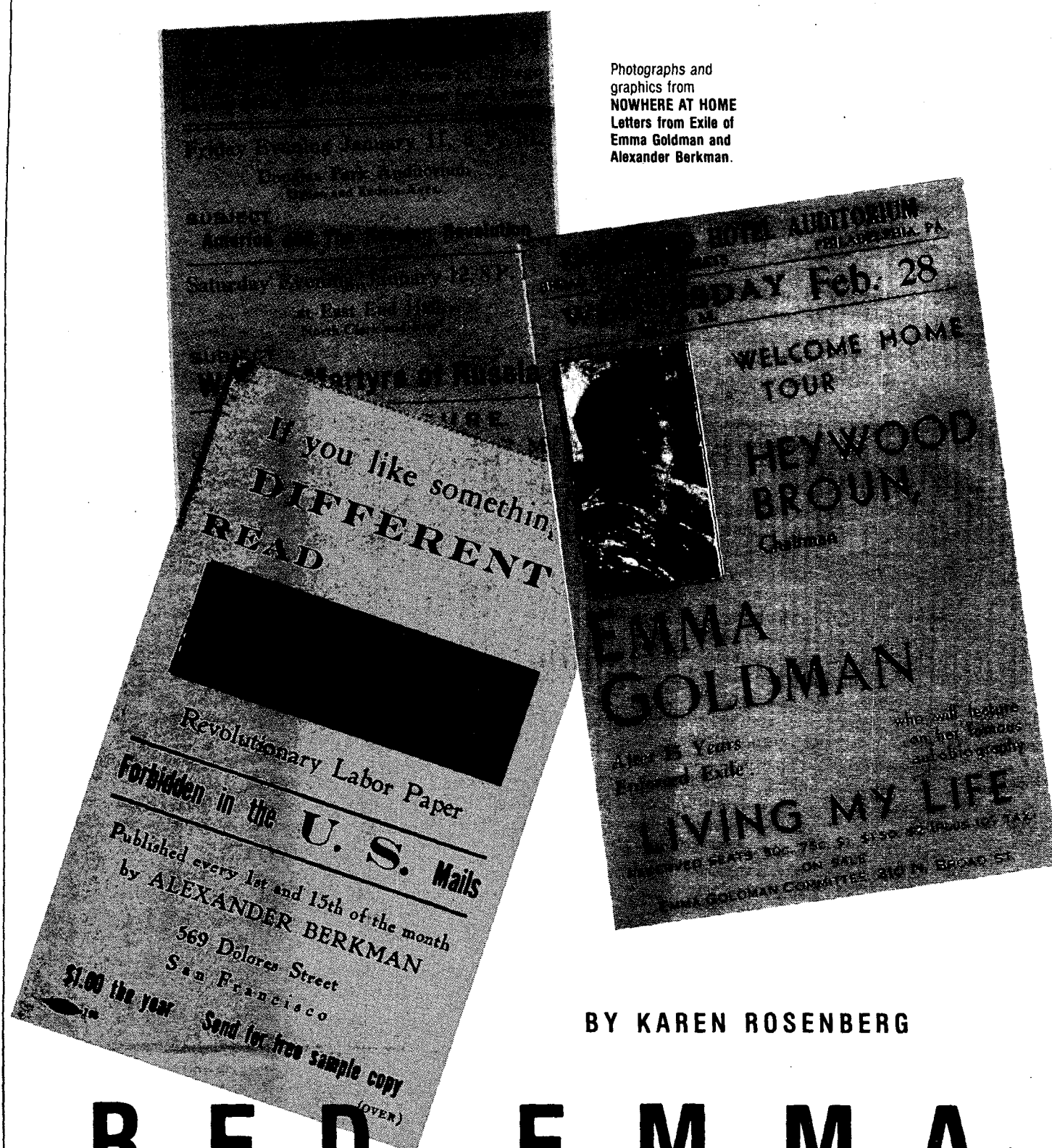
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BY KAREN ROSENBERG

REDEMMA

**She's on T-shirts,
on stage, and even
in the movies. Why
has Emma Goldman
become a star now,
40 years after
her death?**



—The Queen of the Anarchists

Her name is synonymous with free love and direct action. But in the early decades of the century, she was not only famous but infamous. When President McKinley was shot in 1901, she was suspected as an accomplice because the assassin had once heard her lecture. Newspapers wrote of her as the incarnation of evil who incited the gullible to violence. And much of the public was shocked by her support of freedom to practice prostitution, abortion and birth control as well as her calls for an end to capitalism and the state. Up to her death in 1940, when she was raising funds for the anarchists in the Spanish Civil War, Goldman's life was always a dramatic story.

This is why she has entered literature, in Eugene O'Neill's play *The Iceman Cometh* and poems by John Galsworthy and Karl Schapiro. (And more recently in E.L. Doctorow's novel *Ragtime* and Warren Beatty's film *Reds*.)

Yet it was a groundswell of interest in the '60s that has really kept her spirit alive. But this new image is a reversal of the earlier caricature of Red Emma. While many of her contemporaries had seen her as dangerous, their descendants tended to view her as benign—the earth mother who renounced childbirth in order to spawn liberated men and women. It is this creative life-spirit who is now sold on T-shirts and postcards, announcing that she won't be part of a revolution in which she can't dance.

Why the recent resurgence of interest in Goldman? In the more optimistic and affluent '60s and early '70s, when there was much talk of retiring early or working a shorter week in order to explore your talents, her vision of a world of

free-spirits seemed possible.

Thus Emma Goldman became a symbol of the New Left, which insisted that political activity did not have to be the opposite of the pleasure principle. Young radicals criticized the Old Left for being, among other things, puritanical. Who was better proof than passionate Emma Goldman that it is not necessary to enter into a life of ascetic self-denial and unbending self-discipline in order to work for a new society? She believed if you gave up flowers, music and theater in favor of political struggle, you may well fail to create a world that values them. "Beautiful things are not luxuries. They are necessities. Life would be unbearable without them," she wrote in her memoirs, *Living My Life*, which was recently republished by Peregrine Smith Books.

FEMINIST FOREMOTHER

Goldman was also rediscovered by the feminist movement—which looked to foremothers for a sense of continuity and direction—because she had always insisted that the liberation of women was integral to the building of a humane world. She interpreted the idea of liberation very broadly: her theme was not just women's right to explore and control their own sexuality, but their need to develop every aspect of their personalities.

That women should be free to choose—as she did—not to spend their time raising children was something she was sure of. About those who decided to have children, she was more ambivalent. There is an anti-family strain in Goldman's thinking that may have influenced the thinking of some young

women in the feminist movement in the late '60s and early '70s. Motherhood was often described by her as a trap for both adult and child, even when the parent is a leftist.

But what should a woman be if she was not to define herself as wife and mother? Goldman saw true fulfillment only in political activity. There's some self-satisfaction, even arrogance, in her notion that the radical life is the only one worth living.

"How much independence is gained if the narrowness and lack of freedom of the home is exchanged for the narrowness and lack of freedom of the factory, sweat-shop, department store, or office?" she asked. Rejecting practical solutions as accommodations to an unacceptable system, she urged women to join with men to fundamentally change the nature of work so that it would be neither exploitative nor deadening.

EMMA ACCORDING TO EMMA

As an anarchist, Goldman saw the state as a major instrument of domination—economic, political and sexual. Marriage, she believed, institutionalized the position of woman as man's property and made it more difficult for her to leave an unsatisfactory relationship. Rather than urging change in laws regarding joint ownership and divorce, she called for an end to marriage. As for politics—she thought it best to entirely avoid an unjust system, and spoke out against women's suffrage and socialist legislators for that reason. Compromise and gradualism were anathema to Goldman, a woman of rigid absolutes. Partly for that reason she was championed in the second half of this century by the young, the angry—those who could afford to "opt out."

Yet again, from Goldman's greatest weaknesses grew some of her best insights. Perhaps because of her uncompromising absolutism, she was often a perceptive social critic, quick to identify domination in its various and rapidly changing incarnations. She described a U.S. where the fear of public disapproval defeated the potential for free speech and activity. She exposed stifling conformity in comfortable society in words that later suburban generations were ready to hear.

Indeed, Goldman is an awesome example of the power of the word. It's partly because she ranks with the foremost of American propagandists that her enemies pursued her so doggedly. Her prose is so impassioned, so committed that it temporarily covers the gaps and inconsistencies in her arguments.

COMPROMISE AS ANATHEMA

Since she was so skilled at handling language, we must take care not to be blinded by her eloquence. The best romanticization of her life is her own autobiography, *Living My Life*. Under the guise of telling all, it presents the Emma that Emma wanted to be. Its very frankness is misleading, because it tricks the reader into believing these are the uncontrolled outpourings of an open heart. It's all too easy to forget that Goldman was adept at regulating the flow of her phrases. As an editor, critic, lecturer, orator and sometime scholar, her success was based on knowing how much to say and when to say it. Her memoirs were meant to provide a model to all of us, an example of how to sustain a rebellious, independent stance.

Is her correspondence more revealing? It's true that the collection *Nowhere at Home*, edited by Richard and Anna Maria Drinnon in 1975, contains more of her aches and pains, the horrors of being an itinerant exile and a leader of a declining movement. But even there, the public and private realms are mixed, since Goldman often typed her letters with several carbons and sent out the copies as a kind of newsletter. In Goldman's life, the personal was always political.

To get at the real Emma Goldman necessitates reading between the lines she constructed so carefully and so well.

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